THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

August 30, 1947

EIGHT YEARS AGO

AN EDITORIAL

Separatist Movement Dormant

John W. Powell

Crisis In Education

C. Y. W. Meng

Modern Farming In Kiangsi

Dorothy Weyer

MONOPOLY OF TRADE

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 106 PRICE CNC$5,000 NUMBER 13

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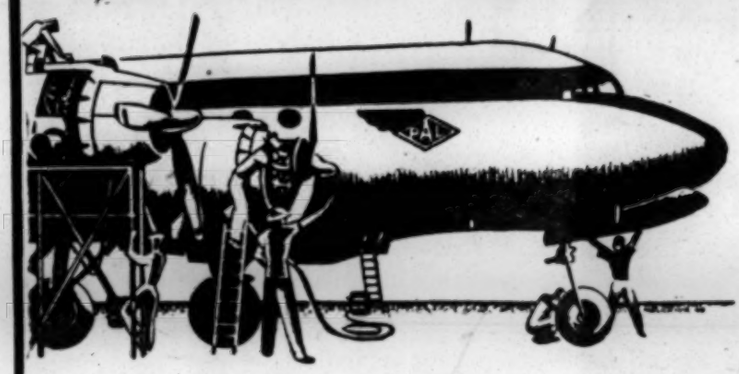

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Losing Chips

To The Editor:

Your New York correspondent has been most interested in the reactions within the U.S. towards your two excellent articles in connection with the Mysberg case. To those who know and love China arbitrary actions such as portrayed in your excellent articles have caused much disappointment.

As you know, at the end of the war, China enjoyed vast popular sentiment within the U.S.—a sentiment which was friendly, cooperative and praiseworthy. Arbitrary actions by the Chinese authorities and regrettable procedures in Chinese courts have increasingly destroyed the goodwill which China has enjoyed here. To put it mildly, China has squandered, through many actions, the blue chips which she held at the end of the war in the form of foreign exchange, and is now in danger of squandering what is even more important, the good will of that section of the American populace who have evidenced such strong cooperative feelings toward China.

Newspaper articles are appearing in the American press on behalf of foreign interests in China. Also a growing number of articles pointing out arbitrary methods and actions on the part of certain Chinese groups against Americans and against foreigners in general.

Unfortunately, from China's standpoint, these articles portray nothing but the truth. I say unfortunately because it is unfortunate that certain Chinese authorities cannot realize the fact that they are destroying for a long time to come goodwill, help and assistance from the American people.

On the other hand, it is fortunate that the *China Weekly Review* and other outstanding periodicals have studiously maintained their position to tell the truth. Perhaps in this way arbitrary groups in the Chinese Government can realize the damage which they themselves are wreaking—as they sow, so shall they reap.

JACK.

New York, U.S.A.,
July 18, 1947.

Stand Fast

To The Editor:

One of the daily newspapers states that according to statistics tens of thousands of students graduated from universities in China this summer. I am not surprised when I hear such news as China should be an industrious country. There is much work to be done and these young scholars should have an opportunity to apply themselves to bettering their own country.

China needs many bridges built, many rivers diked, roads constructed and schools organized. These duties fall on the shoulders of the young men. Every Chinese young man should dedicate his life to the service of his country. It is true that today the young people are doing much, but now there are no vacant positions and I fear they will be jobless and have a serious struggle ahead.

The Second World War ended, the Civil War began and political campaigns have spread everywhere. The Kuomintang's

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troops are advancing and are fighting against the Communist Army. There is no peace to be found, the sky is covered with a dark cloud and no man can tell what will happen.

I cannot tell whether the Kuomintang or Communist Party are right or wrong. But the people will welcome those who improve their livelihood. The Civil War must be stopped and the political campaign settled. The Three Principles of the People must be carried out. In politics China must become democratic and in reconstruction China must become industrialized.

When these young scholars first enter into society they will find little to do and will have no opportunity to serve their country. On the other hand, factories are being compelled to close down and corrupt officials and militarists occupy the high positions and do nothing but squeeze money from the people. Many young people are either slaughtered or arrested. Floods and droughts are found everywhere. These young scholars will heave many a heavy sigh and become miserable. Their hope will disappear and turn a large angle—they will hate society and become raiders or false and selfish men. Others will waste their ability and time and become friendly with corrupt officals. Only very few will stand fast and struggle incessantly.

I cry out, "Young men, never be sorrowful but be optimistic. There is great work for you to complete. China needs a general revolution, not a party revolution. All these corrupt officials and militarists must be wiped out completely and our country must be reconstructed. My dear friends, make up your minds and a beautiful future lies before you!"

SUEN SHI-CHEN.

Fuyang, Chekiang,
August 17, 1947.

Heaven Responsible?

To The Editor:

I have been a faithful reader of your eminent *Review* for one year now, and I now find an improvement both in my reading ability and my ideas. I have no prejudices and belong to no party. I would like to inform you and my dear fellow readers of the extreme unrest in our present society.

These two tragic instances symbolize the darkness in China. It was said that several cars of conscripts were loath to go and join in the sanguinary Civil War so they compelled the chauffeurs to stop the cars after disarming the convoys. No sooner had the conscripts returned to their respective homes than some of their wives with their babies in arms drowned themselves and were found in the pond. The conscripts killed the pao chia and fled for their lives. This happened in Tung Chen, a district about 150 miles southwest of Wuchang.

What seems most dreadful to us is that now thousands of people who are evading conscription are gathered in Huang Pao Shan (The Yellow Gown Mountains) a range extending along the borders of Hupeh, Kiangsi, and Hunan. The place is only a distance of 30 miles from the native home of Mr. Wang Shih-chieh, our Minister of Foreign Affairs. It said that these people are likely to revolt against the local government if they are compelled to go to war.

I have heard that General Wedemeyer has come to China to conduct various investigations. Perhaps he knows very little about the distress of the Chinese people. Dear me! Heaven disperses calamities in this country. Will General Wedemeyer deliver these innocent people from danger?

K. C. KIUNG.

Tsung Yang, Hopeh,
August 12, 1947.

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Message From NE

To The Editor:

Herewith is a letter which you are requested to forward to General Wedemeyer. At the same time please publish the letter in the *Review* if possible. Because we common people have no occasion to approach General Wedemeyer, I cannot deliver it to him myself. This letter represents the opinions of at least 90 percent of the Northeastern people, so I think you will not prevent us from expressing our opinions and wishes to the public, as the *Review* is a wellknown liberal magazine in China.

"Dear General Wedemeyer:

"On the occasion of your coming to our Northeast, I, as one of the intellectuals here, cannot but utter a few words to you about the situation and urgent demands of the Northeastern people.

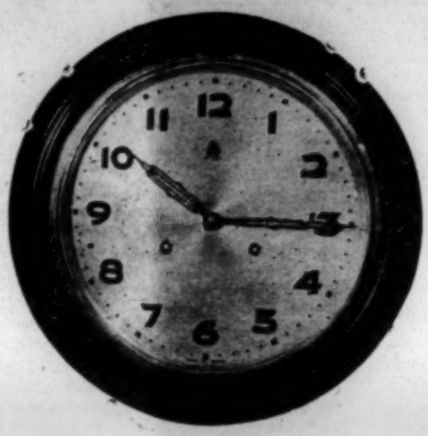
"The United States of America is traditionally a democratic and peace-loving nation, and her past history shines with glorious deeds and feats of those democratic fighters for humanity such as Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. The American people entered the Second World War with the noble object of liberating the weak nations from the yoke of Fascist nations.

"In the Pacific theater, we fought our common foe shoulder to shoulder, and friendship between our two great nations had been on the increase through close and harmonious cooperation in the war. To keep the valuable friendship forever after the conclusion of the war was the common hope entertained by every Chinese citizen. This was because we had a deep confidence in the democratic tradition of America and every one of us aspired to obtain your generous help in our postwar reconstruction. We wanted you to help us to establish a truly liberal, democratic and unified China; a stabilizing power for the peace of the Pacific Ocean.

But things went quite contrary to our expectations. Ever since V-J Day Civil War has raged between the two great parties in China, and we innocent people, just relieved of our burden of war against the Japanese imperialists, have sunk again into a deep sea of suffering and losses. With the proceeding of the Civil War, commodity prices rise higher and higher to the detriment of healthful national economic life; human lives are being sacrificed by the million; farmers desert their farms and are driven away to the front; countless women and children are thrown out of their sweet homes and have nothing to eat and no shelter; Salarymen and men of middle class cannot afford to support the livelihood of their families; more than half of the population is groaning on the death line ....

We, Northeastern people, just liberated from the Japanese yoke, have again fallen into the hands of feudalist Kuomintang government officials, politicians, and warlords. Since the advent of these rascals, we are squeezed by them in economic spheres, tortured by them in our political life, devastated by their loyal army. We are in reality their slaves politically as well as economically. With the war center shifted to this region, we have suffered the cruelest war calamity we have ever experienced. The civilians killed in the battle of Szepingkai by artillery fire of the KMT army amount to some 15,000! Along with the Civil War, we have suffered from many other hardships almost beyond description. The KMT army stationed in the countryside are acting like bandits: they massacre the common people at will; they exact heavy taxes and collect enormous wealth from farmers at random....

The malignant inflation goes side by side



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with the Civil War; the incessant issuance of great quantities of banknotes in this region means that the Government snatches things and materials from the people without pay. It follows, therefore, that the people are getting poorer and poorer until they have been reduced to penury. In order to reinforce the strength of the KMT army, the military authorities concerned are carrying on a severe conscription law all over the KMT controlled areas in the Northeast, and it is said that about half the forthcoming conscripts will be produced from this region. It is a matter of course that military service is a universal duty of every citizen in the modern nations, but it is justifiable for any citizen to refuse to participate in the Civil War. Now, almost all the youths in the country are fleeing from their farms to evade unreasonable conscription.

In addition, farm horses are driven away by soldiers for the purpose of war; crops and grains are carried away by the army. Deprived of man power, material resources, and farm tools, farmers can only gaze at their farms hopelessly. Until now vast areas of arable land remain untilled. Serious famishing crisis awaits us! Everybody except fools can point out the cause which is accountable for such a miserable state of affairs. The cursed Civil War is the ultimate origin of all these deplorable and sad phenomena. The people hate the Civil War with fervor; they eagerly long for the return of peace. But, the Government and the privileged class persist in continuing it with only one object in view, that is, they want to safeguard their vested rights and interests. They would never have commenced the Civil War without American aid—whether material or moral. With ever-increasing aid rendered by the U.S. Government, the KMT generals have more and more confidence in their military strength. Consequently, any offer to compromise with their enemy would be a great farce to them.

Being fully aware of this fact, the Chinese people have begun to hate American policy, and anti-American sentiment spreads all over the nation. To-day, even the politically thick-skinned Northeastern people begin to doubt the American attitude towards us. This is very terrible to you Americans. As a man when bereft of every hope, may run mad, so a people will burst into a fit of rage and rise in revolt against their oppressors if they can brook it no more. You know the people's will signifies "power." Like water power, it will sweep over every barrier and all reactionaries.

No one can deny that the KMT government is the most reactionary and corrupt in the world, and it approaches its final collapse just like an old man afflicted with a serious malady hangs over his deathbed. The generous support given by the U.S. only accelerates its fall. It resembles very much a rich merchant throwing his money into a deep sea. In the past 20 months, the KMT forces have not got the better of their opponents in the field. In the Szepingkai campaign, the KMT troops suffered a fatal blow from the Communist side and would have lost the battle had they not been reinforced by their air force.

In a word, the KMT system is walking downhill in political, economic and military spheres until the time for its whole ruin comes. The U.S. highest authorities should fully acknowledge this iron fact and accordingly should change the basic policy toward China. If they push the present policy through, the results will be the downfall of the KMT regime and the loss of our friendship toward the Americans. I think no sane American citizen would expect to see such a dreadful outcome. Here you are requested to take the following propositions into consideration.

1. We Chinese people are strongly opposed to the American foreign policy in the Far East and request the U.S. government to cease any further monetary and military support to the feudalist, reactionary and inefficient KMT Government.

2. It is hoped that a joint conference be held by the heads of U.S. Government and Soviet Union to discuss the entangled China problem and to mediate an eternal and permanent peace between the KMT and the Communist Party in China.

3. And lastly, we Northeastern people bear a striking resemblance to the American people in that we migrated from Proper China to seek for liberty and happiness. We are peace-loving people, well trained in our capacity and stubborn in our will and intention through our incessant struggle with the Japanese invaders. We have abundant mineral resources, modernized factories, and specialized technicians. Being provided with all these favorable conditions, we might well have embarked upon the task of construction if Government influence had not intervened.

We have stood outside the circle of China Proper in politics and economy. Today, we Northeastern people unanimously insist that we establish a self-governing liberal and happy community ourselves, unmolested by outer forces. Above all we want to serve as a bridge beetween the two antagonistic nations, U.S. and Soviet Union.

T. C. LIU.

Mukden,
August 6, 1947.

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Gentlemen:

Copies of the *China Weekly Review* for the period 28 June to 9 August 1947, were handed to me upon my return from Formosa and Canton. I noticed in the August 9th edition one of the letters written to the Editor in which "a Wedemeyer Friend to be" sent CNC$30,000 in order to provide free copies of this magazine to me.

In addition to expressing my appreciation to that "Wedemeyer Friend to be," I am taking the liberty of sending you CNC$30,000 with which you could reimburse the individual concerned or can add to the fund for the purpose he has indicated. I have been receiving the *China Weekly Review* since my arrival in China and I expect that I will continue to do so for the duration of my stay. I find the magazine is very interesting and that it provides articles of interest to this Mission.

Thank you for your thoughtful consideration in this matter.

A. C. WEDEMEYER,
Lieutenant General, U.S. Army.

Nanking,
August 18, 1947.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: An initial subscription of the REVIEW has been sent to Senator Robert A. Taft.)

Prediction

To The Editor:

I see by the papers that Dr. Henry Lin, President of the University of Shanghai, has recently returned to this city after a visit to the United States and Europe.

His return prompts me to quote the following from *The Christian Century*, America's leading independent Christian weekly, May 14, 1947 issue, p. 634-5:

"....from a recent address at Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville," (where he described various advances in China) ....."within six months, Dr. Lin believes, the Civil War will be at an end, and the Communists, stripped of their military power, will become 'good citizens.'"

If I may comment on what the distinguished Christian educator said, this strikes me as another example of telling the uninformed, goodhearted Americans just what they want to hear. Or does Dr. Lin *himself* really believe it?

WATSON HADLEY.

Shanghai,
August 23, 1947.

Of Scanty Income---I

To The Editor:

For years I have greatly enjoyed your paper and reluctantly let my subscription expire a short time ago. Being a Chinese Government employee, of scanty income, I cannot pay CNC$65,000 at the present time. However, I can still read your paper in public libraries and hope that I will be able to resume my subscription in the near future.

T. T. WANG.

Shanghai,
August 22, 1947.

Of Scanty Income---II

To The Editor:

I was an old reader of your *Review* when I was studying at the University of Nanking 10 years ago. But eight years of war have rendered me homeless and penniless.

It is true that the cost of the *Review* is still cheaper than any other magazine, but as I am a teacher at a country middle school, I can hardly live on my low salary, so I am unable to continue my subscription.

However, I know profoundly that the *Review* is most valuable and honorable, and I hope that in the near future I shall once more become a regular reader of yours, as soon as my condition improves.

J. C. T. WU.

Changshu, Kiangsu,
August 21, 1947.

Correction

To The Editor:

After carefully reading my article, "No Liberal, Independent Papers in Yunnan," appearing in the August 16 issue of the *Review*, I discovered that two sentences were erroneous. As these are important I should like to correct them:

"Wang Kung-tao, the publisher, always declined to criticize those who were his personal friends but criticized his enemies, right or wrong. Wang (he is not the relative of Lung Yun) has created a 'yellow sheet' and its circulation is not more than 2,000 copies."

"During his tenure of office, Lu Tsung-jen, the much disliked Commissioner of Civil Affairs, (and not the Commissioner of Social Affairs) decided to organize a paper to propagandize his activities. The *Chen I Pao* (Justice Daily) saw the light of day on October 10, 1943....."

HELEN P. SHIH.

Kunming, Yunnan,
August 20, 1947.

Phenomena

To The Editor:

About two weeks ago, when the war in southwest Shantung was in full swing, Generalissimo Chiang suddenly and secretly arrived in Kaifeng by plane. But

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only eight hours later after a military conference, he left here for Nanking. During this short period, however, some strange phenomena arose in this city: the electric lights which do not ordinarily glow during the day began to do so; several major streets were smoothed; many soldiers and policemen carrying rifles appeared and stood in the streets. Judging from these facts, people whispered to one another that some great figure had come, but, in fact, they did not know actually who the person was.

One day later, a newspaper confirmed the rumor: Chiang had really arrived and had left the previous day. Also confirmed was the rumor that to entertain Chiang, over CNC$100,000,000 had been spent. This amount could support four students studying abroad for at least one year, or could maintain 100 undernourished refugees for one year. Since there are tens of millions of war refugees, was such luxurious entertainment in accordance with justice?

People also said that one of the reasons causing such a large expenditure was the result of the behavior of a few high bureaucrats who, proud in front of their inferiors as they are, fear our highest leader. At the slightest opportunity they will flatter him wholeheartedly, and moreover, since the luxurious entertainment cannot be enjoyed exhaustively by Chiang himself, they can undoubtedly enjoy the surplus. Their philosophy may be rightly expressed by a current Chinese proverb: "Wool is produced from the body of sheep;" they know quite well that for them it is more beneficial than harmful to spend lots of money in entertaining their leader. As for how much it will increase the burden of the people, they simply pay no attention to that factor.

"A Chinese saying goes, "Judging from only one leaf, we can know whether autumn is coming." From this little interlude in the present great tragedy of China, we may also form some significant conclusions about the bureaucratic politics in China.

T. F. CHANG.

Kaifeng, Honan,
August 17, 1947.

Protest From UK

To The Editor:

Through the kindness of an old friend in Shanghai it has been my good fortune to read your *Review* for the past year. I have admired your unbiased presentation of the facts and editorial opinion with the aim of the betterment of the people.

I feel, however, I must write in protest to your editorial on "Attlee's India 'Gamble,'" in your issue of June 14, in which the Labor Government in this country is depicted as being as reactionary as any Tory regime.

Briefly, I should like to point out, independence for India was one of the aims of the Labor Party and that in resuming office Cripps, Lawrence and Alexander went to India and, after consultation with the parties there, issued their plan. A plan giving complete independence to India, providing the parties agreed among themselves. As is only too well known, the Moslem Party would not be satisfied with less than complete independence for themselves.

Communal riots occurred on a large scale with thousands of casualties. To break this impasse, Mountbatten went to India and produced his plan which has been accepted, and although each side regrets it does not see in it the fulfilment of its desires they are making every effort to render it a success.

I would point out that following straight speaking by Mountbatten, the Indian states are aligning themselves with either India or Pakistan. Hyderabad and Travancore, two states which had previously declared for future independence, have now changed their policy on learning they would have no help from Britain.

Finally, I would add that Commonwealth status does not prevent any state from seceding from this intangible relationship with Great Britain and other freely associated nations. In this country it is regretted that this division had to take place to prevent further bloodshed.

It is the desire of all democrats here that Pakistan and India will resolve their differences and of their own free will unite to form one India.

C. S. HOLTOM.

Stoke-on-Trent, England,
August 7, 1947.

Chinese In Indonesia

To The Editor:

Allow me to correct some inaccuracies which appeared in your editorial, "War in Indonesia" of June 21.

The ideology of freedom and independence for every nation in this world is no doubt essential for the sake of universal peace and happiness. However, from a colonial status to immediate independence is a long jump, in fact too long a jump for the Indonesians, because they are both morally and intellectually unfit for freedom yet. Gradualness should be the watchword in their case. First dominion status, and after an orderly and peaceful transition, only then should they be given freedom. Their case is identical to that of a person just liberated from a Jap concentration camp. A full meal right away is sure to kill this starved person.

From November, 1945, to July, 1947, the Indonesians have continually and systematically plundered, looted and murdered not only the Chinese nationals in Java and Sumatra, but also British Indians,

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who had the misfortune to be located in their occupied areas. Their leaders were all the time aware of such illegal and inhuman acts on the part of their citizens, but either they condoned these or they were incapable of restraining and enforcing law and order. To date the Indonesian Republican Government has not punished a single offender.

Of course there are some fair minded and well-meaning Indonesians, but they amount to a mere handful and their words and orders cannot carry the least weight with the unruly elements who are subordinate to no one, because they possess all the arms, deliberately left behind by the dirty Japs.

During the past 21 months the so-called Indonesian Republican Government has continually bled white the Chinese and British Indian nationals in their occupied areas with all kinds of taxes and enforced donations. When D-Day at last arrived on July 21, and the Dutch forces overran the Indonesian occupied areas both in Java and Sumatra, the Dutch liberated countless numbers of Chinese, Indians and also Indonesian captives, who were imprisoned for unknown reasons and who had never been brought to trial at all.

While the British occupation forces were in Java and Sumatra, the Indonesians displayed all kinds of empty and high-sounding slogans, such "Independence with Bloodshed," "100 Percent Independence, no Bargaining," "Fight to the Last Drop of Blood," and so forth. The sole reason for the Dutch military action was the refusal of the Republican Government to agree to a joint gendarmery in all the important areas. Without this safeguard, no foreign nationals, not even the Indonesians themselves, would have been safe in the occupied areas. During the past 21 months the Indonesians have murdered nationals of not only Asiatic countries, but also of Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland and Australia for no apparent reasons.

True to form and as expected by everyone here, when the Dutch military machine began to move on July 21, the Indonesian forces hastily discarded their tattered uniforms, dumped their arms and equipment at all convenient places, and fled in disorder. There was simply no resistance worth writing home about. The Indonesians wanted independence presented them on a silver platter. They have not the guts or courage to stand up and fight the Dutch forces. But they would fight the defenseless and unarmed Chinese and British Indian nationals. In many places on the Northeast coast of Sumatra and also in Java, before fleeing in disorder, the Indonesian forces set fire to the homes and properties of the Chinese and Indians and in many cases also murdered the poor defenseless folk. The worst incident happened at Kaban Djahe (up in the hills) where 60 Chinese were locked up by the Laskar Rakjat (National Army) in their homes and burned alive. The inhuman Japs at their worst could be classed as saints compared with these Indonesian fiends in human form. As explanation for all these crimes, the Indonesian Premier Szarifoeddin naively remarked a few days ago that they were perpetrated by Dutch collaborators. At the moment in Medan there are over 3,000 Chinese refugees from the interior who possess only the clothing on their bodies, having lost their homes and all their hard earned properties at the hands of the Indonesians.

The Chinese Government has made not the slightest move either to prevent, to stop or to punish such atrocities. The Chinese nationals in Java and Sumatra are merely left to suffer and to rot for all the Nanking Government cares. Only when monetary assistance is needed would our Government begin to realize our existence in this part of the world.

Now, Mr. Editor, in regard to the inaccuracies referred to above:

(1) The Dutch never frustrated the reopening of the estates, realizing that the existence of this country depended entirely on the running of the estates. It was the Indonesians who refused to return the estates to their rightful owners, the Allied nationals.

(2) The Dutch never prevented native products from being shipped out of Java and Sumatra. What the Dutch prevented was stolen products from the estates of the Allied nationals, such as rubber, tobacco, tea, coffee, etc.

(3) The British forces failed to keep law and order in their perimeters. They set free looters and even murderers, thus encouraging lawlessness by which the Chinese nationals have been the worst sufferers. Had the British been firm at the beginning and also sincere in their avowed task, all the troubles and disorders could have been prevented. They complained that Mountbatten had the misfortune to draw Dutch East Indies, while MacArthur was having a jolly good time in Tokyo.

In "Where are we Heading?" Sumner Welles mentioned that at the request of the Dutch Government it was tentatively arranged to send the forces under MacArthur to liberate Java and Sumatra after the collapse of the Japs. However, the British came to know of this arrangement and insisted upon taking up the job. The British alone knew whether they deliberately came here six weeks too late and with an insufficient force. The insufficient force, as a matter of fact, would not have mattered, as any orders given at that time would have been promptly obeyed not only by the Japs, but by the Indonesians as well.

The British force did assist the Dutch to some extent by leaving behind all their equipment when they left. They also assisted the Indonesians in several ways.

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Lots of new Lee-Enfield arms were recently captured from the Republican areas by the Dutch. A few hundred million dollars worth of stolen rubber and other products, the properties of Allied nationals, were shipped by the Indonesians to Malayan ports from Sumatra and Java during the period the British forces were here and for some time after they left. The Dutch Navy later on put a stop to this illegal trade.

In conclusion, I should like to invite the opinion of your readers as to whether the Indonesians are fit to be left to themselves to rule Java and Sumatra, and what kind of an attitude the Chinese Government should take up for the protection of its nationals in these two islands.

OVERSEAS CHINESE SUFFERER.

Medan, Sumatra,
August 11, 1947.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: For another Chinese view on the subject of Indonesian independence we direct the reader's attention to Dr. Lin Wo-chiang's article elsewhere in this issue.)

Mrs. Fitch's Reply

To The Editor:

Late as it will be before you can receive this, I trust you will publish my brief letter since you gave nearly two full pages to your blast against my commentary on the White-Jacoby book which I called "BLUNDER OUT OF CHINA."

If your editorial writer will read my brochure again, after cooling off a bit, he will find that—following a brief introduction—I support every assertion with evidence. Unfortunately I could not give all the statistics available, or point out all the White-Jacoby contradictions, in a 32-page pamphlet. The authors had 325 pages to present their case. My chief charge is that their book has a Communist bias, though I think the authors confused liberals, not Communists. This charge you completely evade. Also I challenge you to compare my quotations from the book—twice called "parts of sentences" in your editorial—with the book itself and find any twisting of the meaning of the authors.

You say that I do not give any figures on the land problem, and then proceed to quote *part* of what I gave. You state that Dr. J. Lossing Buck's "Land Utilization in China" was based on data gathered in 1929-44. Dr. Buck was one of twenty economists (10 American, 10 Chinese) who brought such research on land up to date in 1946-7, but I did not think it fair to quote statistics not available to White and Jacoby at the time they wrote their book. It *was* fair to expect them to know something about the former. Also they could have obtained *Economic Facts* (1944) of the Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nanking, with a bibliography of 27 *other studies and surveys on land* instead of saying that "the most overwhelming of (China's) problems completely lacks adequate statistics."

You say that 70 percent of the people have holdings of less than five acres, but you ignore the specific statement from Shantung that "If a farmer has as much as two acres of land, the Communists call him a capitalist, arrest him, publicly humiliate him, take from him all that he has and turn him out to beg." I supported this American testimony from Shantung by my conversations with Chinese from that province. I might add the same thing is happening in northern Korea.

Your opinion is a minority one among editors, for my humble pamphlet has received favorable editorial comment in leading newspapers from New York to San Francisco. The anomaly is that the former editor and publisher of the *China Weekly Review*, the late highly-esteemed J. B. Powell, was president of the American China Policy Association of which I am vice-president, a committee which has labored to change American policy toward China, with (I am glad to say) some now-apparent success. In all fairness please quote this further bit from my pamphlet:

"No true friend of China denies the need for administrative reform there today, but the real friend sees causes as well as crisis. No country could have suffered fifteen years of invasion without grave resultant disorders. What China needs today is aid, not condemnation."

GERALDINE FITCH.

Seoul, Korea,
July 25, 1947.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

THE *China Weekly Review* will not publish anonymous letters in these columns. Every letter intended for publication must bear the writer's NAME and ADDRESS, for the information of the editors. In cases of group petitions, statements or announcements, the letter must be signed by a responsible official or delegate, likewise for the information of the *Review*. If it is specifically pointed out that the author wishes to have his letter published under an assumed name, or his initials, this will be complied with, and his identity will not be divulged. However, as said above, in all instances must the *Review* be aware of the identity of the writer if he expects to see his communication appearing in these columns.—*EDITOR.*

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Eight Years Ago

AT about this season, eight years ago, Germany was prepared to unleash World War II. The German Army was fully mobilized and the seizure of the Polish Corridor was believed imminent. Britain and France reiterated their intentions to stand by their pledges. Adolf Hitler gave an "unfavorable" reply to a personal message from Prime Minister Chamberlain. The British Parliament was called into session by radio to authorize emergency measures.

On September 1, Germany announced the Anschluss of the Free City of Danzig. This was promptly acknowledged by German troops which moved into the Polish Corridor. The following day (September 2) Britain and France delivered an ultimatum to Germany, and when this was ignored, war was declared on the next day. The second world war had begun.

It has been acknowledged by all, by this time, that the war in Europe did not start due to any insignificant incident which led to the beginning of actual hostilities, much the same as World War I had not been basically caused by the assassination at Sarajevo. The roots of war in Europe lie deeper than the mere disagreement over territorial strips or the killing of archdukes.

Today, the events of eight years ago have been virtually forgotten, partially because everything has worked out well in the end: the democratic nations eventually triumphed over Nazi aggression and Germany lies defeated and awaiting a peace treaty to start her way back into the family of nations.

Perhaps, the events of eight years ago would not be worth remembering, if it were not for the trend history has taken in recent months. Reports on German recovery, in particular, necessitate the analysis of those events which immediately preceded World War II, if only to stress that the prelude of World War III is apparently being reenacted in that part of the world. When these reports on German revival are coupled with the manner in which Japan has reemerged on the Asia scene, it will be clear that some people have learned nothing from the lessons of World War II.

AN *AP* dispatch from London reveals that British sources are hopeful of convincing the French that a boosting of Ruhr steel production is no threat to France's security and economic recovery program. The tri-partite talks on the Ruhr are kept secret, but there is enough evidence to indicate that both the United States and Britain are trying to convince a reluctant France that the Ruhr should again be the center of European heavy industrial production and that great benefits will derive from such an arrangement for all European countries, including France.

A report in the *New York Times* of July 20, asserted that "it is becoming increasingly evident that the revival of the Ruhr industry must be the core of the Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Europe." The article added that this "region of mines and factories was the arsenal of the Kaiser and of Hitler." When the Ruhr is revived, the only thing aggressive Germany will need is a leader of the Hitler type. The weapons will be there.

The Potsdam agreement which is considered by some to be an antiquated document, provided for the reduction of the Ruhr's importance as the arsenal which supplied many a German war of aggression against Germany's neighbors and also served to humiliate France more than once. Now the original plan which called for the reconstruction of those countries which suffered from German invasion, through stripping the Ruhr, has been shelved, or is being shelved at the tripartite conference in London. If the French agree to resuscitating the Ruhr, the harm will have been done.

The *New York Times* report says that "a two years trial of (stripping the Ruhr) has not worked and has convinced British and American policy makers that this theory will not work." The problem is now seen as a necessity to get the Ruhr working. And it is felt that this must take precedence over reparations. Thus, Germany is to be restored to health even before her victims of yesterday are brought to life!

* * *

WHAT appears to be taking shape in Europe today over the question of the Ruhr is a repetition of the kind of power politics which in Europe formerly led to war every two decades or so. A balance of power seems to be more welcome that the actual democratization and demilitarization of Germany.

The reparations question in Germany cannot be solved unless there is a Central German Government to administer the program of such deliveries. The unfortunate fact that Germany has not yet been allowed to become a single, peaceful and democratic state will undoubtedly add to the possibility of future aggressive tendencies which always develop under the mask of a great desire to unite a dismembered country by power. The best insurance against such a development is to unite Germany by democracy.

A Central Government in Germany, if it is democratic and peacefully inclined, will perform its obligations vis-a-vis its victors, and for this

"UNDER A NEW STANDARD"

—Vicky in The Daily News Chronicle, (London)

reason the consideration of the Ruhr's revival *before* such a Government has been established is, to say the least, putting the economic cart before the political horse. A study of German history in the past 150 years will show that no good has ever come out of a dismembered Germany. The rise of Hitler and his cronies was largely facilitated by the Versailles Treaty which failed to create a democratic German state, but merely sliced off a few portions of that country, and gave these adventurers food for chauvinistic propaganda.

* * *

WHAT will be much worse than the mere revival of the Ruhr before Germany's neighbors have recovered their prewar economic levels will be the granting of loans to whosoever will be running the industrial part of that country. There is great similarity between efforts to revive Germany in Europe, and Japan in Asia. Both used to be the leading industrial powers on the two continents and both, incidentally, terrorized their neighbors through brandishing their economic might, and later bludgeoned them into submission with sheer military force. Students of history will remember with bitterness that practically similar words were used to assure the world that a revival of Germany after World War I constituted no threat to France, or to any country on the continent of Europe. Yet less than a quarter of a century later, France, and other countries again fell prey to German aggression.

* * *

CHINA has emerged victorious from the war against Japan—that is, formally. Today, Japan's position is ever so much stronger than is China's, and while the latter's deteriorates with every passing day, Japan has already prepared plans for worldwide trade. France is better off than Germany at the moment. But if the Ruhr is revived, France may again become Germany's weak neighbor, forced to stay armed and wellnigh permanently on the qui vive.

As said above there is great similarity between the proposal to revive the Ruhr, and the resurgence of Japan here. There is also a great deal of similarity between the events of 28 years ago and those of today. And there is likely to be great resemblance between events in the future and those of eight years ago, if the present tendency to rearm (even if only economically) both Germany and Japan does not assume a more favorable course.

War In Indonesia

IN this issue of the *Review*, in the Letters From The People columns, we present a letter from one of our Chinese readers in Medan, Sumatra. The letter written in the form of a protest, firstly, against alleged Indonesian atrocities against non-combatant Chinese and British Indian nationals, secondly, against an editorial in the *Review* of June 21, 1947, and thirdly, against the inaction of the Chinese Government, should be of interest to all Chinese readers.

Our correspondent-reader "Overseas Chinese Sufferer," undoubtedly has had better occasion to survey the scene of war in Indonesia, and there is nothing to be said against his allegations of Indonesian brutality, until such time as some sort of international commission is sent on the spot to prepare a report on such actions. To date, as far as we are aware, there have been charges and counter charges from both sides, but there has been no official statement from a neutral body to place the blame for the atrocities and specify their extent. We prefer to leave the question to such a decision.

The Chinese Government's alleged inactivity in securing the safety of its nationals residing in faraway Java and Sumatra is a matter undoubtedly under the sole jurisdiction of the Government, and we can only take into consideration the actual possibilities of its action in this respect and other pertinent factors which may block such effective action. "Overseas Chinese Sufferer's" appeal should undoubtedly be taken into full account.

On the question of "inaccuracies" in our editorial on the subject of War In Indonesia, we beg to submit that the main difference lies in the point of view adopted in the case of Indonesian independence, what it entails, and whence it should eventually lead. There is no question of "inaccuracies," inasmuch as the facts (even as reported by our correspondent) are substantially correct—the interpretation is different.

Thus, our reader says that that the Indonesians refused to return the estates to their "rightful owners, the Allied nationals." He declares that the Dutch prevented the shipment of "stolen products from the estates of the Allied nationals, such as rubber, tobacco, tea, coffee, etc."

In these very statements lies the difference in viewpoint. The Indonesians hold that the estates in question belong to the Indonesian people, while the Dutch hold that they belong to

"their former rightful owners." From this it follows. that the Indonesians consider the products of these estates their own property, while the Dutch maintain that these are "stolen products." In this case, our reader adopts the Netherlands' point of view. Therefore, as said above, there is no question of inaccuracies, there is only varying interpretation.

Being far removed from the scene of actual hostilities we gladly welcome reports from our readers who are in actual contact with events. Facts, additional to those covered by the regular news agencies would be especially valuable. While we may not concur with "Overseas Chinese Sufferer's" viewpoint, we thank him for his detailed letter.

We Mean Literally

AFTER seeing thousands of Chinese living in this city's streets we pass our readers the cue that "man in the street" in this country is no hyperbole.

Revelation From Japan

A *REUTER'S* dispatch datelined Tokyo, August 22, has many revealing points, worthy of consideration by all those who are today fearful of Japanese resurgence and the menace this will constitute to China weakened by internal strife.

The report quotes Vernon Bartlett, a distinguished English newspaperman and a member of the House of Commons who visited Japan recently, as saying that the Russophobia of SCAP officials borders on near-hysteria. *Reuter* also reveals that the Soviet delegation has been consistently snubbed and ignored by SCAP or made the object of its attacks. Further, it is said that this open antagonism to an ally of only two years ago, has given the Japanese reactionaries the temerity to lobby for an army of 100,000, an airforce, and a coast guard service, and to declare that the Japanese feel cramped because they are confined to the four home islands. SCAP's attitude to the Soviets has also led General MacArthur to accept the "faint democratic stirrings among the Japanese people as the signs of a spiritual regeneration," according to *Reuter*. SCAP opposition to the Soviets and the all pervading fear of Communism has led it to espouse the extreme right with Hirohito at the head: SCAP disapproves of those who would bring Hirohito to trial and the mere mention of the Emperor as "Big Charlie," (so popular during the war), has now become a major offense.

In the foregoing dispatch which reveals some aspects of the occupation not usually mentioned in General MacArthur's monthly reports on the shogunate's progress, emerges the fact that the security of Japan's recent victims has been totally forgotten. The great obsession—SCAP's fear of Communism—has led it to ignore the interests of those millions who have no direct say in the occupation, but who, nevertheless, have a moral right to expect that they will not once again fall prey to resurgent Japanese imperialism, currently fostered by the occupation authorites.

Reuter's report mentioned above says that the arrest of Hirohito as a war criminal would bring chaos and disorder to Japan. This is understandable. Inasmuch as the pedestal on which Hirohito thrives—the Japanese Zaibatsu and the feudal land relationship—has not been eliminated, the Great One has ample support in present day "democratic" Japan. Sure enough, Hirohito's prosecution as a war criminal would create a great disturbance, especially in the ranks of those whose existence is guaranteed by the Emperor's good health, and who in turn guarantee his continuing reign. We venture to assert that the eradication of feudalism and the great monopolies would create a far greater revolution in the minds of the Japanese people than any Imperial Rescript which announces the end of the Emperor's divinity. (Our correspondent David Conde has well noted that if Hirohito's war rescripts are considered of no consequence, then his rescript denying divinity is also of little use.)

This fear of Communism has created a highly contradictory situation. SCAP which is motivated by this fear, works for the resurgence of Japan; the Chinese Government which is also anti-Communist fears Japan's comeback. The Chinese press here, which is consistently anti-Communist, is vigorously campaigning against Japanese revival—a revival which is being staged by SCAP in the name of anti-Communism. How is this dilemma to be solved?

Can a solution be found between backing the reactionaries and the radicals? Is the assertion correct that either there is Communism or Fascism? A brief glance around the world will reveal that such is not the case: while there are about three Fascist countries in existence, and only one which can be called Communist, there are numerous states which adhere neither to the first order nor yet to the second. Wherefore, then, this backing of reaction in Japan, and the discarding of a middle course which would be the best guaranty against both the right and the left?

From the attitude of the Chinese press in recent weeks, there is a growing conviction that the Chinese are acquiring a bitter feeling against American policy which permits Japan once again to menace Asia. Papers close to the Government have come out with strong statements against SCAP occupation policy, and practically all express the fear that China's interests will be ignored at the peace conference. There is great possibility of this because this country's interests with regard to Japan have been consistenly shelved to date.

Only when the Japan occupation policy will become motivated by the desire to spare Asiatic peoples from another Japanese onslaught — and primarily to guarantee China's future security—will the peace written at the forthcoming conference be a just and effective document.

Monopoly Of Foreign Trade

THE *Economic Newsletter* has recently brought up a subject which should have been discussed in the local press a long time ago. The

Government's desire to "promote exports" has led to the establishment of a virtual monopoly on the exportation of China's basic products. This has not come about very suddenly, but has been a gradual process which actually began as long ago as last year, was intensified with the energetic purchases by the Government of export products from exporters who found themselves unable to export, and culminated a couple of weeks ago in a regular feud between the Government purchasing agency and the merchants over the margin of profit the latter were to have. One cannot but arrive at the conclusion that if this practice of government purchasing export goods here, instead of fostering private export trade, continues, Chinese exporters will be relegated to the role of compradores to the government exporting monopoly.

A very significant item appeared in the *Ta Kung Pao* on August 20, revealing that the Central Trust, following the new economic rulings has virtually suspended its activities of collecting goods for exports. From this it would seem that the Government has decided to halt its development of monopoly trade and leave the field to private exporters. The issue, nevertheless, is not as simple as all that. If the time should come when prices of export products on the local markets negate the advantage given them by the new open market rate, and if, as a consequence, private traders will again be placed in an unprofitable position, the Central Trust will again have to resume its "collection of export products."

The real issue, therefore, is not the willingness or the reluctance of a Government agency to engage and compete in the export trade, but the creation of such conditions that private trade will be actually able to function and develop.

There is one other reason which should prevent the establishment of a Government trade monopoly: there is no law in the books which provides for or specifies the establishment of such a monopoly. In fact, the Economic Reform Plan, which became law on August 1, drew a line to the activities of the Central Trust in this manner:

"The specialized functions of the Central Trust of China should be to handle trust, reinsurance and the insurance of public enterprises and to guide private trust and insurance enterprises."

Although the foregoing law came into effect on August 1 (after being passed by the State Council), the *Shun Pao* reported on August 12, that the Central Trust had imported 300,000 yards of Japanese woolen piece goods. This is an example of Government trading through one of its agencies which is prohibited by law to engage in such activity.

Another *Shun Pao* report on August 15, quoted the Central Trust purchasing price for tung oil at CNC$630,000, and said that the merchants think the price should be raised to CNC$700,000 per picul. Another dispatch in the *Ta Kung Pao* said that the Central Trust has bought 5,000 tons of tung oil to date, and is negotiating for the exportation of 1,000 tons to Great Britain. This is another example of the Government engaged in import trading.

It is obvious that if the Government desires to garner the export and import trades it can very easily do so, because of the greater economic and financial power at its disposal.

For all the reasons mentioned above it is highly desirable that the purchase of export products from private exporters be actually discontinued by Government agencies, and that the latent energies of such organs rather be directed to the improvement of conditions which will allow the growth and expansion of *private* export trade.

A Fishy Story

INVOLUNTARILY one is forced to make a pun at the expense of the UNRRA-CNRRA sponsored Fisheries Rehabilitation Administration, largely owing to some of the information this agency has itself circulated and also as the result of a letter to the local press written by the Shanghai Commercial Fisheries Association.

Some time ago we received one of FRA's regular press releases which revealed that "the total catch of FRA vessels to date is now more than 6,500,000 pounds." This looked like a lot of fish, until we ventured to do a little calculating. The result of some simple arithmetic led us to the conclusion that the total catch of FRA vessels "to date" came to about 3,000 tons. Considering that a year ago FRA vessels used to bring in catches of 30-60 tons three-four times a month, it transpired that this enormous catch of 6,500.-000 pounds is nothing but the annual catch of *two* vessels going out three-four times per month.

This calculation was amply supported by the letter of the Shanghai Commercial Fisheries Associations which charged that "most fishing vessels are lying idle in Point Island, 70 to 80 percent of these vessels have never been out fishing one year after their arrival. Only a small percentage of these vessels are now engaged in fishing. . ." We would venture to place this percentage at 10, being two vessels out of the 20 FRA is supposed to have.

But even at this slack level of operations, the FRA has ired the association which charges illegal competition on the former's part.

". . . UNRRA fishing vessels are given free passage to all Chinese ports and dump all their catches in the Chinese markets without due consideration of our (the association's) interests."

The association suggests that all of FRA's vessels be distributed to the private fishery companies for only in this manner will the industry be rehabilitated.

This suggestion seems to provide a reasonable solution to the problem. In the first place it is rather criminal to let a large number of shipping vessels lie idle, and in the second, it is unethical to undermine the home fishery industry.

Slave Trade Continues

ON AUGUST 24, the foreign press discovered that trading in conscripts was the "newest racket." This racket was uncovered by the police here and it transpired that youths and men rang-

ing in age from 14 to the maximum conscription age were being bought and sold for approximately CNC$3,500,000 per head. The trading center is said to be in Ningpo and when this was discovered eight suspects were arrested and subsequently six "conscriptees" were also found. Now the victims have been apparently freed while the culprits are due to be punished for violating the military conscription law.

The foregoing is the first time that the foreign press reported at length on the sale of human beings after the start of conscription, although two or three reports had it that young men were kidnaped and "inducted" into the army to fill in vacancies left by deserters. The Chinese press, however, has been much more informed on the subject as a few examples will show:

The *Ta Kung Pao* reported on August 23 that "since the commencement of conscription in this city, cases of illegal dealings in able-bodied men have frequently occurred." The *Shun Pao* on the same day ran a story entitled: "Soldiers Commandeering Able-Bodied Men Caught Redhanded." On August 21, the *Ta Kung Pao* revealed "irregularities" in conscription methods in Wuhsien. "Recruits from Anhwei Stage Dramatic Runaway Here," was another headline in the *Ta Kung Pao* August 19 issue. On the same day the *Chien Sien Jih Pao* wrote of a case of "commandeering of able-bodied men in Shanghai to fill vacancies left by deserter-recruits." The *Ho Ping Jih Pao* said on August 17 that the local garrison commander had tracked down an organized ring engaged in trading in able-bodied men. The *Yi Shih Pao* reported that many volleys of rifle fire were heard on August 14, and it was discovered that three conscripts were wounded. "The platoon commander, having discovered that several recruits were running away, opened fire to stop them from deserting...." The *Lih Pao* on August 13 said that "Mayor K. C. Wu was indignant over commandeering of able-bodied men in Wayside District." On August 11, the *Lih Pao* said that a case has been uncovered involving a platoon commander who commandeered train passengers to become soldiers. This list could be extended indefinitely and as given above comprises only a portion of the reports which appeared in the local Chinese press in the last 20 days of August.

The foregoing examples of how recruits are handled both by the military and the civilian "entrepreneurs," the continuous attempts to stage runaways on the part of conscripts, some of whom have been classed as "volunteers," the irregularities in conscription which amount to rich families "redeeming" their offspring through the payment of certain sums of CNC to the right people, etc., indicate that all is not well in the field of general conscription started recently. A large proportion of these conscription irregularities comprises open slave traffic which especially affects that part of the population popularly known as "pi seh." (The "pi seh" is the "man in the street," thousands of whom can be seen "lounging" on the sidewalks.)

In spite of the severe measures that may be taken by the authorities to punish slave traders and culprits from the ranks of the military who "draft" people by force, this situation is liable to continue until the root of the evil has been uncovered and eliminated. On our part we feel that there is more to "slave traffic" than the mere lack of scruples on the part of the culprits.

25 Years Ago In The Weekly Review Of The Far East

Loan Obligations

September 2, 1922.

IN the course of an interview with correspondents of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* in Shanghai last week, Dr. Sun Yat-sen stated emphatically that he had no intention of repudiating any loan or loans which were legally contracted by the Peking government. He wanted the fact to be understood clearly. Although there may be some misapprehension regarding just what Dr. Sun means by the words "legally contracted," his statement should bring a sigh of relief in certain foreign diplomatic circles where many sleepless nights have been spent in studying legal formulas for the government that has existed in Peking for the last half dozen years since the parliament was dissolved.

* * *

Misinformation

A reading public fed upon a conglomeration of misinformation carefully compiled to deceive, half-truths hand-picked and skilfully pieced together to serve a selfish purpose, and propaganda bought and paid out of politicians' expense accounts, well might be expected to be overwhelmed with a confusion and conflict of opinions and views. This is exactly the situation as regards the world reading public in relation to China today. Is it any wonder that the American people, on whose support and active assistance China counts in the present crisis, is befuddled and bemuddled when the doctored press reports given out throughout the country are, in forty-nine percent of the cases, prepared with the deliberate intent of concealing the real facts?

10 Years Ago In The China Weekly Review

Bold Move

August 28, 1937.

IT has been charged that Americans have become decadent and that the United States has been placed in "cold storage" diplomatically as a result of the activities of its pacifists. The result has been anything but favorable for Americans and their interests in the Far East since the beginning of the present crisis. It is not entirely incorrect to say that Americans are held more or less in contempt by both sides, thus creating potential dangers for U.S. citizens and their interests. However, the courageous actions of Admiral Harry E. Yarnell in moving the flagship "Augusta" to the harbor fronting the Settlement helped considerably in reassuring not only the Chinese, but also the local foreign community.

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War In Far East?

THE clash between Japanese and Chinese troops in the vicinity of Peiping, coming so swiftly after the clash between Japanese and Russians at the Amur River, gives rise to dark forebodings. Is the Japanese military group determined to precipitate war with China without further delay? Was the Amur incident a device by which the Tokyo general staff sought to test the likelihood of Russian intervention in the event of a general Japanese invasion of eastern China? Has the state of affairs in Europe become such that the Japanese army leaders are convinced that they can go as far as they like on the Asiatic mainland without danger of interference of nations deeply engaged elsewhere?

South China Separatism Dormant; Future Movement Seen

JOHN W. POWELL

Canton, August 17.

THE much talked about movement for an autonomous South China Republic, supposed to be in full swing in Hongkong and Canton, actually seems—at least at this stage—to be little besides talk, although indications are that the "talk" may develop into something serious in the foreseeable future.

It is of course natural that any Chinese politico or militarist who might be considering the possibilities of a separatist movement would be extremely foolish to say so at this point. Such an admission would bring down the wrath of the Central Government and would, in the eyes of Chinese and foreign observers, largely discount any reform planks in his platform. China only recently has emerged from a warlord existence and the memory is not a pleasant one.

In any event, even the numerous Chinese political exiles, virtually all of whom are openly critical of the Central Government, maintain that there is no separatist movement in South China. Marshall Li Chi-sen and General Tsai Ting-kai, best known of the political "outs" now holed up in Hongkong where they receive British protection against any would-be intimidators from Nanking, steadfastly declare that their sole interest is in making the Government of China more democratic and that they are opposed to any division of the country.

How genuine these protestations are is somewhat difficult to determine, especially since both men in the past have been actively involved in positive separatist movements. Both were connected with the Fukien Revolt in 1933. Tsai led his famed 19th Route Army in establishing the very short-lived Fukien "Republic." Following the Japanese occupation of Kweilin in 1944, Marshall Li retired south of the Japanese lines with the intention of organizing a guerrilla resistance movement which was frowned upon by the Chungking Government.

Despite the many rumors of their present activities and the conclusions which might be based upon their past personal histories, these two men—generally accepted as "official" spokesmen for disgruntled southerners at present living in exile—present a solid front in saying that their only interest is in agitating for a coalition government which would be genuinely democratic and which would put an end to the Civil War. The similarity with which these two men, and other less important critics living in Hongkong, state their political aims and with which they deny any active intrigue against Nanking, however, almost makes one think that they might be heading up a pretty well organized opposition group.

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Conditions Not Ripe

ONE prime prerequisite for an autonomous movement is that the situation in the areas involved is such that the people be receptive to the idea. Whether popular sentiment in south China today is at least non-atagonistic to such an idea is difficult to say. Conditions are bad, certainly, but it appears that the situation has not yet deteriorated enough to cause the general population actively to welcome and support an opposition group, although such conditions do exist in several parts of the province.

There are four main areas in which even officials admit that "banditry" is a problem. First is Hainan Island which is almost completely out of Government control. Next worse area is the Luichow Peninsula and part of the surrounding country stretching up to the Kwangsi border. Here, too, several hsien, with the exception of the hsien cities, are controlled by the bandits. The East River area, long a Communist stronghold and the area in which the Kuomintang some 20 years ago had its first success in arousing mass armed support from the farmers, is still pretty much under control of remnants of the Communist East River Guerrillas. Fourth area is the section of the province between Kukong and the Kiangse border, usually referred to as north Kwangtung.

However, outside of these four regions, which are estimated to involve about 15 of the province's approximately 100 hsiens, Kwangtung appears to be with only a slight increase in "local" banditry, robbery, etc. One village near Canton, which might possibly be considered fairly representative of much of the province, is quite peaceful, although for how long it will remain so is anybody's guess. The land is poor, remittances from sons, husbands and other relatives who have gone overseas are slack and the population increases each year. Taxes and rent—not including various special levies—consume about 65 percent of the tenants' rice crop and, according to people interviewed in the village tea house, the community as a whole grows poorer each season. How long this steady deterioration can continue before increasing areas are seriously affected by "banditry" is difficult to predict.

* * *

Trade Said Prosperous

ANOTHER factor which must be considered is the commercial condition of the area. Merchants, much more articulate than farmers, usually exercise the dominant influence in local affairs. While most complain bitterly of the Central Government's restrictive trade regulations, a great many appear to be making out pretty well as a result of the widespread activities of smuggling organizations which move cargo both to and from South China. Some economic observers estimate that South China enjoys a balance of trade and that in some respects the Canton area in particular prospers more than it usually would because it serves as a transhipment point on the smuggling route for areas in the hinterland which normally would use some other more convenient port of entry and exit, such as Shanghai.

Whether or not such statements are wholly true, it is evident that the city of Canton is well stocked with various types of foreign goods, including luxuries, which are banned from entry by the Central Government. Likewise, the Pearl River at Canton, although not so well dotted with foreign shipping as Shanghai, appears as a bee hive of activity when compared with China's main port on the Whangpoo. Ocean-going and river junks line its banks and at no time during the day or night does it remain quiet. Junks, ships from Hongkong and smaller craft from up river are constantly ferrying an amazing amount and assortment of cargo, while trains on the Canton-Kowloon (Hongkong) Railway and Canton-Hankow line travel back and forth loaded with people and goods. Obviously, an enormous amount of trade is being carried on.

* * *

Top Officials At Odds

THE feelings of officials in the area, both on the national and provincial levels, are also important when considering the possibility of separatist movements. Unless, as some observers suspect, a few of the important officials here are being extremely clever in concealing their real feelings, it does not appear that many key personages as yet are prepared to cast loose from Nanking. This partly is the result of Nanking's policy of deliberately sending to the same area officials who do not get along well with each other. As one American political observers remarked several years ago, it appears to be standard Central Government policy to see to it that the governor, military commander and Kuomintang chief of each province are not friendly and have overlapping powers. Such a situation may make it certain that officials in outlying provinces will never combine against the central authority, but it also makes certain that few, if any, of the normal functions of government will be carried on efficiently.

One gets the impression here that high officials are more antagonistic towards each other than they are toward

Nanking, in spite of the many reasons they have for complaining of the treatment meted out to them personally and to their province by the Central Government. How long local officialdom will continue its internal bickering depends to some extent upon how long and how fast political and economic conditions continue to worsen throughout China. Also, it may well depend upon the outcome of the Civil War battles currently being fought in North China and Manchuria.

* * *

Movement Likely In Future

ALTHOUGH it is admittedly difficult to secure many concrete facts regarding the political attitudes of officials, or what they really may be thinking, since Chinese generals and bureaucrats have a handy faculty for granting extensive interviews during which they deliver long, meaningless speeches and avoid direct questions with practiced agility, it appears that while the separatist movement in South China is today overrated, the time may not be far distant when it possibly will develop into a real thing, although even then it most probably will be cloaked in high sounding phrases which will try to give it the status of a reform movement.

While provinces such as Kwangsi and Fukien are reported to be relatively stable, Kwangtung, the key province in the South China area, is definitely suffering from unrest which runs from open rebellion in some areas to seemingly resigned acceptance of increasing hardships in others. In some respects, such as regards commerce, the province already operates more or less in disobedience of Nanking's laws and regulations. Some of the officials in the province are known to be generally cool toward the Central Government, although they will deny it if such is even hinted. Important figures, such as Li Chi-sen and Tsai Ting-kai, are waiting in nearby Hongkong, and, some say, are in active touch with some of the bandit groups in the disturbed areas. The Communists, it is often said, have considerable influence among the "bandits," especially those in the East River territory and on Hainan Island.

When one surveys all the obtainable facts and collects the various impressions gained by traveling through South China, one can only conclude that while the situation does not appear critical at the moment, it may soon reach the point where active opposition to the Central Government will develop.

U.S. Publisher Views Japan

JAMES R. YOUNG

TWO years ago the diplomats of five nations were in Potsdam to write the terms for world peace, and representatives of three nations had in their portfolios the proposals from Japan that an end to the war would be acceptable on two conditions.

This month the Japanese peace treaty will be discussed by 11 interested nations' representatives in Washington, and in Sydney, Australia.

Meanwhile, in Tokyo, Japanese diplomats, some of them war criminals who hold public office, are preparing a second set of conditions and demands to be submitted when the full dress conference is called.

At Potsdam, Japan's Palace Guard advisors won their first round when they got the Allies to agree to preserve the prerogatives and the sovereignty of the Emperor.

In Tokyo today, Japanese diplomatic plotters, in cool mountain resorts and comfortable seashore villas, are plotting as viciously as pre-war Nazi diplomats. They are the eyes and ears of the Imperialist gang of prerogative holders who will bow and smile their way into and out of the Peace Conference, with mental reservations attached to every point agreed to by them.

Just as in Germany, the Japanese today are conducting themselves on the familiar path of sheep followers. Once in a while they jump when we shout at them about abandoned directives.

The underground is a powerful, menacing potential of American hating Japs—millions of them—the nucleus of a new military police force.

In their government is as dangerous a black market operation as anywhere in Germany. On the surface, hostility is lacking, but inside, the spirit of hatred is inexhaustible. It is grossly untrue to assume that the Japanese, any more than the Germans, have abandoned the idea of a totalitarian country in favor of a democracy.

For generations the Japanese were trained like seals in a circus to yap, squeal and clap hands, talk like parrots on national issues, always expressing contempt for the government, but by contrast always going along with the government because to be too critical would be an irritation for the Great One who arranged the peace at Potsdam and who saved the world—Emperor Hirohito.

No new leaders will be found in a Japanese Peace Treaty delegation. The passenger list will include the same faces, the familiar frock coats and silk hats, and tons of baggage containing presents.

Four Conditions Set

I would recommend strongly to Senator Chan. Gurney, chairman of the Senate's Armed Forces Committee, that:

(1) We demand the maintenance of military stations on Hokkaido island for 20 years; that U.S. Marine Corps representatives be assigned during that period as inspection patrols for all coastal waters, dockyards, cable and wireless transmission equipment, and weather observatories.

(2) The U.S. Army Air Corps, with a slogan of "Air Power is Peace Power," should be assigned semi-annual inspections for 20 years, of Japanese engine production of all types, engine horsepower must be stipulated for all classes of engine output—automobiles, power boats and aircraft.

(3) Japanese shipyard production must be under British, Australian and American supervision. The first two should be the active observers for two decades of Japanese boat building, with American shipping representatives in a minor capacity on a merchant marine control board.

(4) Steel mills in Japan must be restricted to the production of plate not more than 42 inches wide.

These are specific, practical terms which should be imposed upon Japan, but, as I have reiterated for two years since Potsdam, we are not going to face realities at conferences. Instead, we shall proceed on the false assumption that rebuilding Japan will be the bulwark for us in the Far East. That is the psychological hokus-pokus which the Japanese used on us from 1937 to 1941, and the same Japanese are today preparing to appear at a Peace Conference with their old but tested recipes. To hope for the contrary is impossible so long as Japan retains her old, corrupt leaders, who will use the Emperor as their puppet.

And within five years after signing the treaty, there will be threats of assassination from the underground, for those who signed. It will be rationalized in the Jap mind that the signatories misled the Divine Mission.

THE AUTHOR

JAMES R. Young, for 13 years Far East Correspondent for International News Service, is now publisher of *The Star*, in Wilmington, Delaware. Mr. Young's opinion on Japanese developments and the probable course events are likely to take in connection with the writing of the Japanese peace treaty, takes on added significance when supplemented by David Conde's series of reports from Japan, carried by the *Review* for several weeks now. The accompanying article has been written by Mr. Young especially for the *Review*.—Editor.

Kiangsi's Modern Farmers

DOROTHY WEYER

SIXTY-FIVE grease-smudged young farm lads are changing the agricultural scene in Kiangsi province, whose fertile land lay idle at the end of the war because of the war-time destruction of farm tools, draft animals and seed.

They are rapidly turning overgrown wasteland into productive rice, wheat and vegetable-producing fields with the humming of their well-oiled Ford Ferguson and other UNRRA-imported tractors which are replacing the centuries-old time-consuming hand plowing methods their fathers used.

The self-styled Kiangsi Modern Farmers are tractor operators undergoing training in the UNRRA-sponsored CNRRA-MOAF tractor training project in Kiangsi. Although they are only half-through their tractor operation and maintenance course, they have already plowed 8,500 mow of land and have learned to handle their mechanical implements with assurance.

18 To 30 Years Old

The 65 students, enrolled in two classes, are 18 to 30 year old youths selected by the Kiangsi CNRRA agricultural rehabilitation officer for training. Before their selection they must guarantee they will remain with the tractor operation for at least one year. They must go through a four-week indoctrination course to determine whether they are fitted for the work before they are considered full-fledged tractor trainees. The most stringent requirement is that they be willing to get their hands greasy and do the manual work necessary to operate and maintain farm machinery.

The trainees are smartly-clad in trim khaki uniforms made of UNRRA-supplied material in a CNRRA-sponsored work relief project. During their indoctrination course the students receive two and one half catties of flour each day from CNRRA as pay, and after their acceptance as student trainees they are paid the CNC equivalent of US$20-$25 per month by CNRRA.

During the course each student receives training in theory and practice in operating and maintaining UNRRA-supplied tractors. At the end of the course, each receives a diploma.

Kaoan Co-Op Farm

The students are trained in three localities in the province, so they can learn to use tractors on varying types of soil. The first location is the Kaoan cooperative farm, where an estimated 30,000 mow of land can be plowed by tractors. The second area is Wan She, considered the best riceland in the province, where only 10 percent of the soil has been in cultivation since the war. The third area is Po Yang Fan, where come 5,000 mow of riceland can be plowed by tractors.

Classes in maintenance are held at Chang Kung Tu, where a two-story UNRRA-supplied quonset hut has been erected on the cooperative farm site for tool storage and machine repair. Other quonset huts have been allocated to the province for additional storage space.

Plans have already been made for the post-UNRRA operation of the tractor training project. Under the provisions of the provincial tractor organization, tractors would be sold to cooperatives or individuals who would agree by contract to use the machines for farming operations and to care for them according to established rules.

A staff would be set up for the as-yet-unnamed organization, including one MOAF representative and one foreign-trained mechanic who is a graduate of the school with previous experience in the operation and maintenance of machinery. In this way, the training of qualified operators and mechanics could continue after the UNRRA program in China is finished, and farmers could be assured of suitable repair shops for maintenance of their new mechanized equipment.

Crop To Be Divided

When the crop already planted is harvested this fall, farmers who help bring it in will be allowed to keep one-half the yield and to continue farming the land. The other half goes to the provincial tractor organization. Farmers in the area are largely refugees from Hunan, Honan, Hupeh and Anhwei, who left their native provinces as a result of the war.

In the Chang Kung Tu cooperative farm most of the residents live in tent-covered houses. They are paid CNRRA flour for their work in the fields until the first harvest is in.

The Kaoan cooperative farm was established on land completely stripped by the Japanese. The village had been burned to the ground, and dwellings, wells, irrigation ditches and other necessities had to be built through CNRRA work relief projects. Farmers receiving CNRRA flour in payment for their labor have erected tents, central dining halls, administrative buildings, cowsheds, pigpens and other structures, and have established a cooperative pigpen with 69 head of swine, cooperative henneries with 900 fowl, and also have established a cooperative primary school for their children.

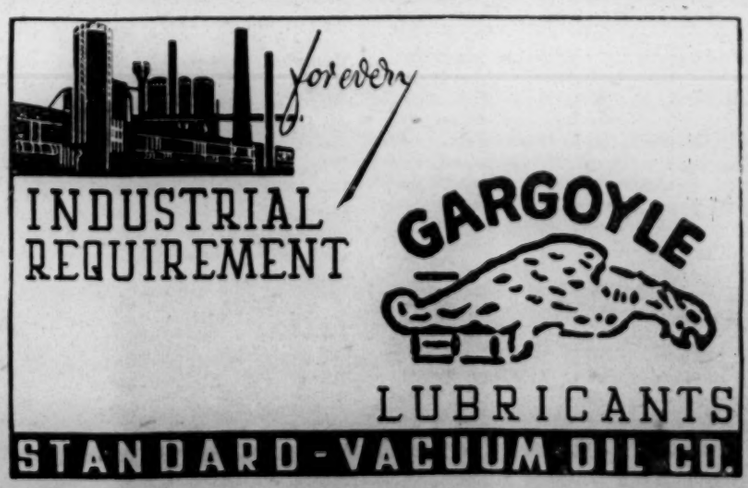
War On Rice-Borers

In addition to the tractor training project, which is revolutionizing farming methods for Kiangsi farmers, and the work relief projects which are giving them a living, the UNRRA agricultural rehabilitation program there is teaching Kiangsi agriculturalists how to rid their rice paddies of the destructive rice borer, which annually destroys more than 100,000 long tons of rice. UNRRA-supplied DDT powder is being distributed for dusting plants, and other scientific methods of exterminating pests are being taught.

UNRRA's largest anti-rinderpest campaign is being waged in Kiangsi, where an estimated 100,000 head of cattle have been vaccinated by UNRRA-CNRRA-MOAF teams using UNRRA-supplied vaccine imported from the United States and Canada.

Other UNRRA agricultural rehabilitation projects in Kiangsi province include the distribution of UNRRA-imported seeds, livestock and small farm tools, and the repair of dykes and sluice gates under CNRRA work relief provisions.

The UNRRA agricultural rehabilitation officer in Kiangsi is Horace C. Traulsen, of Paxton, Nebraska, who is assisted in the tractor training project by three volunteers of the Brethren Service Unit. They are Joseph Mow, of Chicago, Illinois; Maurice Richards, of Pottsville, Pennsylvania; and Owen Shankster, of Alvordton, Ohio.



THE EDUCATIONAL CRISIS IN CHINA

C. Y. W. MENG

A COUPLE of weeks ago, we celebrated Father's Day. I believe many fathers will share my view that to be a father nowadays is not easy at all. One of the greatest difficulties that faces many fathers today is the education of their children. Where should we send our children for education? How can we bear such a high cost of education? With the opening of the schools drawing nearer, the problem has certainly become more pressing.

Every semester we find there is always a large number of students registered to take part in the entrance examinations of the universities and middle schools, and yet, we observe, each of these institutions can take in only a small number of new students, leaving far larger numbers of students no chance to receive further education or, at least, delaying their study for one year if they are able to get in the next semester.

For example, it was reported that more than 11,500 students enrolled to take part in the entrance examinations of the National Central University in Nanking. But the said university has taken in less than 1,000 students. What about the other 10,000? This question alone should give a great deal of food for thought to the Ministry of Education if the authorities of the ministry are really devoting themselves to the promotion of education in China.

Difficult Questions

Strictly speaking, national colleges and universities and Government middle schools are under obligation to provide the opportunity for education to as many people in the nation as possible. It is not right for the school authorities purposely to give difficult questions to the students taking part in he extrance examinations with a view to disqualifying most of them.

According to the same report, of 11,500 students taking part in the entrance examination of the National Central University held in Nanking in the early part of August, no less than 4,000 students simply handed in what the Chinese call "white" (meaning blank) papers, as they could not answer the questions. Of course, this may indicate the low standard of these students. But we believe the questions might be somewhat too hard for the new graduates of middle schools; for normally there should not be more than one-third of the students who fail to answer these questions.

Such action on the party of the school authorities, supposed to be under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, will discourage many youths from seeking further education, and will defeat the purpose of education in the long run.

In fact, the Ministry of Education could have taken some steps to remedy the situation by expanding the national colleges and universities and Government middle schools, by admitting more students on probation, by establishing special preparatory classes, and by elevating the standard of the middle schools so that graduates can be admitted to the colleges and universities without difficulty.

Education Costs Hig

Secondly, tuition, lodging and boarding for each Government middle school student for this semester, when put together, will amount to more than CNC$1,000,000. This does not include text books, uniforms and other incidentals. For other private institutions, the total is more than double this sum.

To the rich and bureaucratic capitalists who can pay hotel bills for their wives in America a month in advance at US$200 a day, or who can afford to spend CNC$100,000 for a meal at the Park Hotel in Shanghai, and to the speculators and hoarders who, by indulging in speculation and hoarding activities, are now becoming richer than ever, a million or more may mean only a fractional part of their income. But to the common man, this sum is certainly too exorbitant and burdensome to bear.

For this reason, many fathers have given up attempts to educate their children, much as they would like to do this. Many fathers simply keep their children idle at home to do kitchen work, or, at best, send them to be child laborers in factories or apprentices in shops where they are practically enslaved. Under such conditions as exist in China today, education has indeed become another "special privilege" for a few, but not the right of every citizen of the Republic.

Begging For Education

I have witnessed occasions when children begged their fathers and uncles to send them to school. At the end of last summer, I remember one boy, being anxious to attend school, begging and weeping before his father to put up some money to send him to school. His father, shaking his head all the time, at last broke his silence and said, "I can not do this," while the eyes of the child's mother, who stood by, overflowed with tears. As I listened to the father-son conversation, my eyes, too, were filled with sympathetic, silent, but hateful, tears.

I, too, sook my head wryly and concluded mentally that there must be something wrong with our economic and social system where the chasm between rich and poor is so pronounced and where there is such gross social injustice for the latter.

Three Evils In School

Besides this rigid admission to the schools and the high cost of education which worry many fathers, there are three great evils in every middle school and university. As well summed up by one Chinese educationalist, these three great evils are: (1) party politics, (2) bureaucracy, and (3) corruption. This educationalist concluded that unless these evils are extirpated at the earliest possible date, there is no way to improve the present state of education in China. (See "Party Politics, Bureaucracy and Corruption: Three Problems of Middle Schools and Universities of Today" by Chien Shih-pu in the August 9, issue of *The Century Critic*, Nanking, pp. 7-10.)

The "struggle" between the notorious "C.C. Clique" and Chu Chia-hwa, Minister of Education, allegedly over the appointment of the president to the newly amalgamated Central Institute of Political Science and Central Staff College, which resulted in the widespread students' anti-Civil War and anti-hunger movement in May and June is an open secret, and is too vivid in our memory to need any reiteration here.

Although the Kuomintang at the time when the Political Consultative Conference was in session decided "to quit" the school and the army, and the San Min Chu I Youth Corps was detached from the Kuomintang and was placed under the Executive Yuan, nevertheless, many observers are of the opinion that the "withdrawal" is more nominal than real. As pointed out by the same professor, "While the signboard of the Kuomintang and the Youth Corps might be removed from the school entrance, nothing further is accomplished" (Chien Shih-pu, *Op Cit.*), meaning, of course, secret activities and organizations have been going on as usual, if not more intensively than before.

Whence Education?

We, fathers, certainly like to save every penny to send our children to schools, but only to schools of high learning which will train the younger generation in free thought and in organizational ability and activities to be fit masters of tomorrow. We dislike our children attending party schools or institutions torn by party conflict.

We, fathers, believe that education is the foundation upon which a nation is built. Therefore, in our opinion, education is something *holy*, and it must, therefore, be completely separated from all party politics. No party should be permitted to interfere with the school administration. No police and gendarme should be permitted to enter the school campus without the special authorization of

the highest authorities. Teachers should be respected. All these should be expressly provided for in our constitution.

We, fathers, certainly hope that our children will study more western science and engineering, but not drama and music. China will certainly need far greater numbers of technical men in the near future when she begins her national economic reconstruction, but China is not greatly in need of the western arts. But where can we educate our children?

Ordinarily, the National Chiaotung University in Shanghai, which is one the oldest Chinese universities with a high record of achievement, would be the school where we could send our children for technical education. But now that institution is still in the process of "reorganization."

In fact, the National Chiaotung University is not the only one in such a chaotic condition. The whole of Chinese education is drifting towards a crisis.

The opening of many universities and schools in Shanghai after this summer finds many of their former liberal presidents and professors gone. Many students, on their return to the schools, will find many of their "beloved professors" discharged due to alleged "misbehavior" or "inefficiency."

According to a recent report, the services of over 20 professors of the National Chiaotung University, more than 20 professors of the National Fuh-tan University and 36 professors of the National Chinan University will be discontinued, although many of these "discharged" professors are known to be learned men and authors of many books, and have been teaching in the universities for 10 or more years. Liberal professors of other universities have also met the same fate.

Obviously, the theory is that these liberal professors are guilty of having lent their moral support to students during their strikes in May and June. From the point of view of the Ministry of Education, their absence from the schools will decrease the probability of future strikes. Whether this move is effective, remains to be seen. But this is certainly another tragedy of liberalism in China.

Mass Expulsion Of Students

According to another report, a total of 437 undergraduates of some eight local colleges and universities was dismissed by the end of the last semester, and these students are no longer permitted to study in schools. This group discharged include: 114 from Great China (Ta Hsia) University, 83 from Utopia University, 130 from Kwang Hwa University, 71 from Hangchow University (missionary), 5 from Shanghai University (missionary), 7 from Nantung College, 16 from Shanghai Law College, and 11 from China Journalism Institute. It must be here pointed out that this group does not include students dismissed after detention by local police and gendarme forces in the last two months.

In addition, more than 200 middle school students have met the same fate. These include 20 from Ching Yih Middle School, 11 from YMCA Middle School, 18 from Chi Jen Yung Girl's School, 10 from Fuh-tan Middle School, 6 from the Public School for Girls, 3 from Tsing Tuh Girl's School, and others.

Obviously, the real reason behind this mass expulsion of students is that these students took part in the last May students' movement against hunger and Civil War.

Ministry's Despotic Ruling

But this mass discharge is most queer and unreasonable. The majority of these students discharged have had excellent records in their school days. Morally as well as academically, these students had kept themselves above the average level with many of them honored by the school authorities as "model students." The best students in the National Chiaotung University and Utopia University, for example, fell in the same lot as the other victims.

Professors of universities are now "appointed" by the Ministry of Education. Mr. Wu Po-feng, President of the National Chiaotung University, and the presidents of two other Government universities in Shanghai have already tendered their resignations for reasons of "illness." But according to those who know the inside stories of these institutions, the chief reason for the resignations of these presidents was their opposition to the recent ruling of the Ministry of Education that all university professors should be appointed by the ministry directly. They considered such a ruling as unprecedented in the history of Chinese education. But as they were not able openly to oppose it, they preferred to quit their posts.

"Purge" In Schools

According to a current report, the Ministry of Education has now launched a "purge" in the Government universities in Shanghai by completely reorganizing them. The situation in the middle schools in this city is equally confused. But the report has it that while the Ministry has launched a "purge" in the Government universities, the Municipal Bureau of Education has done the same in the middle schools in Shanghai.

Turning now to the *kuo min* or citizen's or primary education in China, we find it equally disappointing.

Of 76,598,694 children of school age (6 to 12) in the nation, those who have attended and are attending schools (including private schools opened by tutors, which in many ways are not schools at all) numbered only 30,277,311, or 39.53 percent, and those who have no opportunity for education totaled 46,321,383, or 60.47 percent.

Of these children attending schools, only 10 percent are healthy, while 90 percent are unhealthy, 50 percent are under nourished, and 80 percent are suffering from trachoma.

The standard in primary schools today is much lower than that in the schools in pre-war years. These schools are usually staffed with poor teachers. Of some 624,805 teachers of primary schools throughout 19 provinces in 1945, 70 percent were below the qualifications specified, as they were only graduates of primary schools themselves. Ordinarily, to teach in primary schools requires graduation at least from a normal school.

Funds Inadequate

Lastly, the expenditure for education in China is pitifully small. According to a plan decided on by the Ministry of Education several years ago, each *pao* in China should have one primary school with an expenditure of CNC$1,000 (in prewar value) each. Recent statistics released by the Ministry of Interior reveal that China has 623,460 *pao*, which means China should have an equal number of primary schools throughout the country with a total expenditure of CNC$623,460,000. Now, assuming that current prices are 10,000 times higher than pre-war, it will mean a total of CNC$6,234,600,000,000. However, viewing expenditures for local education in our budget, we find it amounts to less than CNC$200,000,000,000. With such inadequate funds, how can we expect the development of the *kuo min* or primary education in China.

However, on the other hand, it is pointed out by other observers that the disbandment of one division of the army, the maintenance cost of which is estimated at CNC$1,200,000,000 a month, will be sufficient to finance no less than 30 universities in China.

Among nine nations in the world surveyed, China has the smallest number of students (including university, middle school and primary students) in proportion to her population, and her expenditure for education is also the smallest. The table below shows the details:

Name of Country	Percent of students to population	Per capita income (in US$)	Percent of educational expenditure to national budget
United States	21	1,120.00	26.0
U.S.S.R.	21	691.00	19.0
Great Britain	15	.560.00	10.0
Canada	20	475.00	20.0
Australia	18	360.00	11.0
China	4	11.00	3.3
India	4	16.80	6.0
Mexico	10	31.00	15.00
Chile	12	88.00	19.0

To sum up, the present state of education is definitely a shame on the nation. The morale, and moral standing of our people have sunk to their lowest ebb in our history. It demonstrates glaringly the poor

standard of work of the Ministry of Education in recent years. It constitutes substantialy another dark spot on the record of the Chiang Kai-shek administration. It shows explicitly that China is not only heading for an economic crisis, but is also drifting towards an educational crisis.

But what is most surprising is that while there is one pronouncement after another, such as "Emergency Economic Measures" promulgated in February of this year, and another "Economic Reform Plan" promulgated in August, to cope with the economic crisis, there is not a single educational reform measure ever promulgated by the National Government to deal with the situation. Besides the mass dismissal of liberal presidents and professors and the mass expulsion of students, nothing constructive has been done.

There is *no* plan to develop mass education. There is *no* plan to popularize education among the people. There is *no* plan to promote the character education of the people. There is *no* plan to enforce one special Anti-Corruption Act to wipe out the corruption in officialdom.

In fact, in our view, the present educational crisis facing the nation is just as actute as the economic crisis.

PCC Resolution Cited

But the way to cope with the present educational crisis is already clearly stated in "The Administrative Program for the Peaceful Reconstruction of the Nation," decided upon by the Political Consultative Conference. Part VII of the Program dealing with educational and cultural affairs is worth citing in full:

1. Freedom of academic activity shall be protected, and religious faith and political ideology shall not be made to interfere with school administrations.

2. Scientific research and artistic creations shall be encouraged to elevate the cultural standards of the nation.

3. Popular education shall be universally extended, so as to obliterate illiteracy in society. Vocational education shall be developed so as to promote the people's vocational capabilities. Normal education shall be augmented so as to provide tutorial staffs for popular schools. The teaching methods in various grades of schools shall be reformed in keeping with the democratic and scientific spirit.

4. The National Budget shall provide for a higher proportionate allotment for educational and cultural commitments. The treatment of school teachers shall be rationally improved as shall also be their pensions. Poor students shall be assisted in attending schools and in seeking higher education. Awards and scholarships shall be provided for scientific research and literary authorship.

5. Private schools and cultural enterprises shall be encouraged, public health facilities extended, and popular physical education developed for the promotion of the people's health.

6. Wartime measures for the censorship of news, publications, films, plays and letters and telegrams shall be revoked. The development of publications, newspapers, news agencies, dramatic troupes, film studios shall be assisted. The development of all State and Party news organs and cultural enterprises shall be undertaken on the principle of service for the whole of the people.

Why not take all these steps to prevent a crisis?

New Trade Regulations Have Possibilities

J. R. KAIM

TWO days after the Chinese Government's announcement of its new foreign exchange policy, a controversy started. News from Washington was to the effect that the new policy, according to the views of "United States officials" would help little if any, whereas the *London Times* explained that the new exchange regime was likely to stimulate exports. In China itself, the new regulations were generally regarded as sound and practical.

In fact, it was amazing to learn that the Washington Bureau of the *Wall Street Journal* predicted, as early as August 20, that Sino-American trade would not benefit by the new exchange regime: many will remember that, according to several American businessmen, it was the unrealistic rate of exchange, the official CN$12,000 for one U.S. dollar that rendered business here almost impossible. "The buying power of the U.S. dollar here is ridiculously low," one American businessman pointed out during his stay in Shanghai and his statement, quite rightly, was approved by the majority of would-be customers.

Now the Chinese Government has altered its exchange policy, has made the rate flexible, has abandoned unrealistic quotations; still, it took some observers but two or three days to discover that all this will be of no avail.

Pessimism Substantiated

While such a quick pessimistic reaction is amazing, it is a fact that the new regime does not guarantee any permanent control of the exchange market, but this probably, is also well known to the Central Bank itself. Nor can the Government hope to stimulate exports without increasing the imports of basic materials. There may be a chance to increase shipments of domestic raw materials such as bristles, ores, feathers, oils, but there can be no hope for expanding private exports of manufactured goods as long as imports of basic industrial products remain restricted and prices of such commodities on the local markets continue to advance.

Prior to the war, China used to export huge quantities of finished and semi-finished goods. She exported cotton piece goods, hosiery, metal goods and a dozen kinds of consumer goods manufactured in China both from imported and domestic materials. If pre-war export markets of such commodities cannot be reconquered, any improvement in China's foreign trade balance may help to improve the country's balance of payments, but cannot better the nation's economic situation in general.

In order to regulate the market in basic industrial materials, however, and to control prices, the Government has—in the absence of direct price controls—no other means than to improve the import situation, in other words, to arrange for larger imports of all those basic materials local prices of which continue to show swift and drastic advances. The Government indeed should lift all import controls when and where raw materials are concerned and give importers and manufacturers a chance to use their own funds abroad.

Raw Materials Needed

To believe that one can boost exports without allowing larger imports of basic materials would certainly be a grave error. But if the offices in charge decide to control prices of such commodities by freeing the import trade (in such goods) from prevailing restrictions, the new foreign exchange regime may prove to be a blessing. Nor would the new regime, as has been predicted in a Washington dispatch by *United Press*, stimulate inflation.

However, it cannot stop inflation either. As long as the Civil War continues there can be no full rehabilitation of China's economy, and as long as enormous sums of money are used merely for military purposes, inflation will continue. Still, while it is easy to predict that everything will be fine once the Civil War is over, one has to reckon with the well known fact that instead of being over it is going on, and one has to find remedies to help the sick man tide over his illness. It is from this point of view that one must judge the new regulations. They are a stopgap measure and one should think that as such can be considered as sound.

Furthermore, it is usually easy to say that this or that measure will not help, it is much more difficult to suggest better solutions. It does not help a man to be told that his way

of doing business is wrong as long as one fails to suggest better methods. Of course, the only suggestion would be: Stop the Civil War, but the question was, and still is, to find some remedies as long as that goal has not been reached.

Price Hikes Small

It has also been predicted that prices of Chinese would-be export goods would at once rise and this to an extent that would automatically destroy all export hopes. Apparently, this has not been the case up to now. Prices of China products have gone up, but on the whole such increases have been between 10 percent and 50 percent, as compared with a more than 200 percent advance of the foreign exchange rates. In some cases, for instance, in the tea trade, prices have at first gone up swiftly but a couple of days later when traders understood that their quotations had been far too high, prices fell.

Another argument against the new regime is that in spite of everything there still exists a black market exchange where quotations are higher than on the "open market." This is true but the only astonishing point is that some people are surprised a black market does exist: when the new regulations were issued it was clear that for many purposes there would be no foreign exchange available at the official rates and it was evident that for such purposes people would resort to the black market. Nor do the new regulations stop clandestine trading in either consumer goods or in gold.

The new exchange regulations certainly are neither a panacea nor the philosopher's stone. But if the Government sees to it that the market is controlled by a flexible import policy and if the new Export Import Board proves to be different from the many bureaucratic offices which for so long a period have dominated and hampered foreign trade activities, the new regime may do far more good than harm. If red tape continues to dominate, however, we shall have gained little, if anything at all.

The Downfall Of Ch'ing

W. C. PIEN

A familiar figure to students of history is the first emperor of the Ch'ing Empire who lived 2,132 years before the founding of the Republic of China. A tyrant, or, in the modern sense, a dictator, he believed in brute force, and his belief was unmistakably demonstrated when, in an interview with Tan Sui, a diplomatic representative of An Ling to the court of Ch'ing, he said somewhat haughtily, "When the Son of Heaven is in wrath, you shall see 1,000,000 corpses lying prostrate and blood shedding for 1,000 li."

Unlike some bombastic but impotent rulers we often read of in history, his actions bore out his boasts of military prowess. After a series of subtle and shrewd maneuvers, he smashed and crushed six rival states in succession until all "rivers and mountains" belonged to him. Disgusted at the repeated invasions of the Huns, and successful in driving them to the north of the Gobi, he then lengthened and strengthened the Great Wall in order to provide protection for his people.

Having a vivid recollection of Su Ch'ing—the historically famous office seeker who had repaired to the state of Ch'ing and used his powers of persuasion, not unacidulated with sycophancy, to incite Civil War merely for a job in 10 memorials to King Hui of Ch'ing—he, it seems to us, was under the impression that "scholars" could be more profitably exploited than confidently trusted and that they sedulously longed for wealth and emolument instead of the greatest good for the greatest number.

As King Hui, evidently annoyed by Su Ch'ing's talk of a aggrandizement through aggression, had given the cold shoulder to the warmonger, so the Emperor of heroic mould, when badgered by scurrilous criticism, buried alive some 460 literati and burnt masses of ancient books.

In the absence of foreign ambassadors, ministers and newspaper correspondents, his military achievements and barbarous acts were not known to any countries outside Cathay until after the closed door of China was bombarded open in 1842 by the British man-of-war, Nemesis, with "cannon balls innumerable, flying in awful confusion through the heavenly expanse."

Notwithstanding his violence and tyranny, the emperor died a natural death, nothing untoward having happened to him during his lifetime except one or two attempts on his life. There were no parades, demonstrations, strikes or protests, simply because the poor Chinese people were inarticulate, submissive and docile.

Contrary to all expectations of its founder, the Ch'ing dynasty did not last for 10,000 generations. It ended somewhat miserably only 15 years later when the allied force of the impetuous Hsiang Yu and the calculating Liu Pan, in cooperation with the people of the six suppressed states fought their way to the territory of Ch'ing, excavating the emperor's mausoleum and extirpating the house of Yin, or Lu. No reader of history sheds bitter tears over the cruel fate that befell them, but every reader regrets the destruction of E Fang Kung which, according to the eminent writer, Tu Mu of the Tang Dynasty, was a magnificent, extensive structure measuring 300 li from Li Shan to Hsien Yang. Within its confines were "long bridges resting over billows not unlike dragons; elevated passages traversing through the air looked like rainbows; a train of halls where numerous imperial concubines and ladies-in-waiting danced and sang with joy at night, and towers where mirrors used by them in the morning for trimming their coiffeurs shone as brightly as the stars in the sky." Were it still standing today, Chinese students, desirous of studying civil engineering would rather go the Sianfu than to the United States of America and Europe, thus saving the National Government's foreign exchange.

The reasons for the downfall of Ch'ing—tyranny, violence, extravagance, brutality and cruelty—are so well known that even pupils in primary schools are aware of them. But "those who are capable of new impressions and fresh thought" may add a few more reasons which follow:

Ch'ing destroyed six rival states in rapid succession. In the ordinary course of things, upon the destruction of a state there must have been an occupation of the territory and in consequence there must have been an assumption of control over enemy property embracing land and houses in addition to gems, jades, emeralds and what not, not to mention a bevy of "tempting morsels." No one can gainsay the fact that while a minor portion of the property thus taken over by the minions of the emperor ostensibly must have been transferred to the state's coffer, the lion's share, to infer from the present to the past, may have gone surreptitiously to private channels.

These minions—truly despicable creatures—encumbered with illgotten wealth and softened by feminine endearments, instead of gallantly going to the battleground to combat the foe for their master, knelt before the conquerors with instruments of capitulation upon their heads saying abjectly, in effect, "O our Lords, let us, our sons and our sons' sons be faithful servants to You and Your illustrious posterity for a myriad years and serve You, as dogs and horses." It may be seen that takeovers followed by turn-overs contrived to put an end to the mighty Ch'ing.

Ch'ing was an absolute monarchy, and as such the concentration of power—legislative, administrative and judicial—was considered indispensable, but too much concentration and too much unrestricted use or abuse of power, supplemented by applications of emergency measures, invariably brings about a state in which "the vast majority of mankind exists to minister to the few," and the reluctance on the part of the few to recognize the claims of the vast majority often leads to conflicts, revolts and revolutions. To this rule, Ch'ing was no exception.

Arbitration Said Best For Indonesia

LIN WO-CHIANG (林我將)

THE action taken by the United Nations Security Council on August 1, to end hostilities in Indonesia is regarded as a great success in the history of the UN and a victory for those who strive for maintenance of world peace. Despite the objections raised by Holland that the UN had no jurisdiction over the Dutch-Indonesian dispute, the Security Council has been able to brush aside questions on technicalities and decide directly on the point that such an armed conflict was an actual threat to peace, which, according to Article 39 of the United Nations Charter, comes within the purview of the Security Council.

The urgency of the occasion and the reason for taking action were tersely explained by Herschel Johnson, the U.S. representative, at the Council meeting, when he said: "No matter what concept of legality is involved, a shooting war is going on and men are being killed, and that is a matter for the Security Council." On this occasion and without further debate, the Council passed the following resolution:

"The Security Council, noting with concern the hostilities in progress between the armed forces of the Neherlands and the Republic of Indonesia, calls upon the parties: (a) to cease hostilities forthwith, and (b) to settle their disputes by arbitration or by other peaceful means, and keep the Security Council informed about the progress of the settlement."

Objection Overruled

Despite the Dutch objection on the question of jurisdiction and the Indonesian demand that the Dutch should withdraw to the positions held before the hostilities started, both sides issued cease-fire orders, on being called upon by the UN Security Council to cease hostilities. Although we repeatedly hear of violations of cease-fire by both sides since the beginning of the month, credit must be given them for obeying the order of the Security Council. In doing so they have helped to establish a precedent of peaceful intervention by an international agency whose chief concern is the preservation of world peace.

The Security Council has wisely made its cease-fire order absolute, but left the choice of methods of pacific settlement to the parties in dispute. This, we believe, for two reasons. First, the matter was too urgent to wait for protracted debates. It demanded as a first condition cessation of hostilities. No negotiations whatsoever were possible with both parties locked in a death-to-the-last-man struggle. Secondly, as numerous methods for amicable settlement are available, the parties must be allowed to choose one appropriate to their case.

At present, two weeks after the cease-fire, the difficulty of deciding on the means of settlement still persists. For although such settlement admits of two alternative methods of approach, viz., that either the disputants be induced to accept terms of settlement dictated to them by some third party, or that they come together and agree on terms of settlement for themselves, each method has several varieties. To the former method belong arbitration, judicial settlement (as by an international court), and to the latter, good offices, mediation and conciliation. In the case before us we find that practically all the known methods of settlement have been proposed, either by the parties concerned or by some third party.

Different Approach

Again, we find that in the case under review, Holland prefers good offices, especially as offered by the United States on July 31, to mediation (which she rejected during hostilities) or arbitration; whereas, Indonesia urged arbitration, particularly an international arbitration commission under the auspices of the Security Council. They both seem to have reasons for preferring a certain method.

Holland, largely out of pride, would have nothing to do with arbitration, which might compel her to submit to the award of a third party; nor even mediation, which would put her on an equal footing with Indonesia, a community of indeterminate political standing. While Indonesia, chiefly due to distrust of Holland, would consider good offices, at best, a supplement to arbitration.

Under the present circumstances, not only that cease-fire order must be conscientiously observed by both sides, but what seems more important is that an effective means for settlement must be decided upon and peace negotiations start right away. We believe that of all the methods available for amicable settlement, arbitration appears to be the most appropriate for the occasion. It was suggested by the Security Council, apparently as a first choice, when it recommended that both sides "settle their disputes by arbitration or by other peaceful means."

Dangerous Situation

It is more than two weeks now since the Security Council took action, and yet peace negotiations have not begun for lack of an agreed method, which places Indonesia under the pale of war. A more dangerous situation is hard to imagine. It is, therefore, time for the Security Council to appoint an arbitration commission, a five or seven-nation arbitration commission, consisting of the principal States of, or States most interested in, Southeast Asia and the Pacific regions.

As the delinquent State, the Netherlands is no judge of what the UN Security Council should or should not do. Her constant protests of late that Indonesia has no international standing, and that, therefore, the dispute is of a domestic nature, which the Security Council is asked to keep its hands off, etc., are arguments insufficient to prevent the Council from carrying out its function as a guardian of world peace. For the purposes of UN intervention, it is good enough if Indonesia has acquired a *de facto* status. Of this there seems to be little doubt, since the Netherlands had signed an agreement—the Linggadjati Agreement—with Indonesia last March, giving *de factor* recognition to the Republic, and since May 27, in face of the threat of war between the two, mediation was offered to both sides by Australia, China, the United States and Great Britain, a further evidence of tacit recognition of Indonesia as a political entity of a sort by third states.

The arbitration method besides having been recommended by the UN Security Council and proposed by Indonesia and several members of the United Nations was—or is—also provided for in the Linggadjati Agreement, to wit, in Article 17, wherein it is said: "The Netherlands Government and the Government of the Republic shall settle by arbitration any dispute which might arise from this agreement and which cannot be solved by joint consultation in a conference between those two delegations."

This is practically an arbitration treaty in which both parties agreed beforehand on the means they would use for settling disputes. Such admirable foresight should not now be blinded by a susceptibility to the vague idea of "infringement on sovereign rights," merely because it is urged by a third party. Arbitration as a method of pacific settlement of dispute has its own merit, as is shown by its past record.

Tried Methods

In the international field arbitration has assumed increasing importance. It has been frequently made use of ever since the 19th Century (1794-1900), in the course of which 177 cases were submitted to arbitration. The advantage of resorting to arbitration had become so evident at the turn of the century, that in 1903, Great Britain and France following the suggestion of the Hague Convention (1899) concluded a treaty in which they agreed to settle their differences by arbitration. Similar agreements were later made by a number of American and European States. In the Covenant of the League of Nations (Article 21) members were encouraged to submit their differences to arbitration. Recommendation of arbitration in the present Dutch-Indonesian crisis may be a pouring of the old wine of the League of Nations into new

bottles. But what of it, if the wine is still good?

It is to be hoped that the Netherlands would take a long view of the whole matter and would not let such scruples as mentioned above block the way to a speedy liquidation of the present intolerable situation—a situation, when considered politically and economically, affecting the whole world (see the writer's article on this point in the *Review*, August 9). This is the more so, in view of the fact that Great Britain has recently relinquished her rule over India (which officially ended on August 15) with good grace, which wins for her both respect and goodwill from all quarters, including India herself. This time, India gains her independence with, and not in spite of, England; which really is a gain for both.

Indo-China Example

Turning to Indo-China, another European Power has since last October been unceasingly engaged in a colonial war, without the least sign that Western arms would eventually triumph over a people determined to be free from foreign shackles. But after all, sounder counsels prevailed in France, and the French Government is now moving to bring the stalemate to an end by peaceful means.

The case of Indonesia resembles both India and Indo-China only in their broad outline, but not in detail, especially in one aspect, which makes the re-assertion of Dutch sovereignty over Indonesia appear almost archaic. And it is an irrefutable historical fact, that the Indonesians had declared themselves a Republic on August 17, 1945, quite a few months before the Dutch put in an appearance on the islands.

With violations of cease-fire on the increase and becoming bolder, while the organization of a truce-supervising body and an arbitration commission is still no where in evidence, a return to the frightful state of things as prevailed before August 4, seems inevitable. At the rate at which material destruction has been carried out under the Indonesian scorched earth policy, rich as Indonesia is, one wonders how much that is worth salvaging will be left to any one if fighting continues.

Internal Conflict Said Latent In Divided India

HARIN SHAH

New Delhi, July 26.

CAMEL carts, purdahs, buggies and British shareholders abound in this millenium-old capital of the Aryas, Pandavas, Rajputs, Moguls, British and now of the Provisional Dominion of the Indian Republic.

To this fading setting of past glory, those who taught these 400,000,000 the technique of mass defiance, brought the first breeze of socialist ideology and a world outlook and produced implacable mass organizations out of the clubhouse of the British Founder (the Indian National Congress) and the gathering of the Muslim Knights (the Muslim League)—Gandhi, Nehru, and Jinnah are now splasing new coatings.

India today is carved into two sections. Near independence is won, but unity has been lynched. Gandhi and Nehru have pulled through and have also failed, for they procured home rule but yeilded helplessly to the Muslims' multi-nation theory, saw the defiant birth of a potentially theocratic State of Pakistan and yet have still retained the headache of tackling 40,000,000 of the same Muslim minority within the shrunken borders of India.

Demurrage Charge

Jinnah also triumphed, for he was successful in winning Pakistan—given as a gift with a small demurrage charge—and the constant riots. But he, too, had to partition his granary and his industrial belt—Punjab and Bengal—between Hindus and Muslims; had to drop the claim for a corridor between his North-western Pakistan—Sind, Punjab, Frontier Province and Baluchistan—and Eastern Pakistan—Bengal; and has had to harbor in his own parlor Pakistan minorities, tagged with the dangerous fuse of the same multi-nation theory which won him his Pakistan. He will have to deal with a Hindu and Sikh minority of 18,000,000 within the borders of Pakistan.

The most singular triumph has been gained by the Englishman. Two years back, stones were hurled at him and western clothes, even on an Indian body, used to be stripped off and burned. Today, the Muslims have won Pakistan after a long fight with the Hindus. In turn, the aroused Hindus regard every Muslim as an unfriendly alien. But the Englishman walks down the street completely exonerated by both.

This is the picture which is agitating everybody in this country today. Congress leaders are aware of the feeling of mass relapse and of an apprehensive future. Nevertheless, they are coping with the job with calculated confidence. If passions continue to be aroused and finally result in a showdown between Pakistan and India, then the partition will have served no other purpose than to dismiss the British and confiscate their arms to cut each other to pieces; to render millions of hostages—Hindus and Muslims—into the hands of prospective belligerents, and to create two governments, two armies and two economies ready for a preconceived war.

Total Division

This is no ordinary grant of autonomy, no simple fulfilment of the lofty phrase of self-determination, it is not even secession. It is a total division—including all assets—of a vast country into two Sovereign States, with their own independent governments, economies, citizenships, armies, laws and foreign policies, admitting only such relationships between the two as fresh, specific treaties and agreements provide for. The division has embraced the entire administration, all assets and liabilities from the armies and universities down to convicts and lunatics.

The spontaneous and most outstanding consequence of this tragedy has been the plaguing of the usually fatalistic and tolerant (in the case of the orthodox) and the enlightened and intelligent (in the case of the young) Hindu mind. The Hindu conscience, hitherto locked down upon by young progressives, is now being lauded. The birth of a Muslim state has automatically led to the birth of this Hindu Revivalism, though Congress leaders have tried to control the tide.

Heated Controversy

The great Congress organizations which reached nearly all of the 700,000 villages and towns of India and held together under its Tricolor rich and poor, reactionaries and idealists, as a challenge to British rule, is now facing gradual annihilation as the country enters a period of Congressional tutelage and the top and middle layers of Party leadership dissolve into a scramble for office. Heated controversy over the question of whether or not it should continue to exist is now in progress.

The British carried their pageant of "fairness" too far, and denied India the right to inherit the "supremacy" over the States from the retiring British. Instead, they conferred the option of "independence" (from India) on these 600 princely progenies of the Sun and the Moon. Like an asylum let loose, few of these big Highnesses with a nervous title of Hindu Maharaja over the Muslim population, and a Muslim Nizam or Nawab over the Hindu population, one with a succession of Hollywood wives and another with thorium in its sands, have claimed their independence from India.

The British have taken the line of blowing hot and cold, refusing the Princes direct foreign relations over the heads of India and Pakistan, but, at the same time, refusing to bear responsibility for them, thereby leaving the painful courting to the

tact of Indian leadership. Some of the Princes have lodged with the Delhi Government their claims for some ports, hill stations and rich lands which, they allege, were acquired by the early British, rather involuntarily as marriage gifts or similar pretexts. This has caused the battle-cry of *A Strong Center* by the blossoming Free India Government, controlled by Congress.

Faced with a serious food crisis, total reconstruction of armed forces and the administrative machinery, and with the fissiparous internal controversies in the wake of freedom's exubernance, the Congress leaders have embarked upon a twofold policy of utmost tact, ruthless expediency and extreme conciliation towards the array of Princes, on the one hand, and a strong Executive through strengthening security forces on the other. Over 90 percent of the States, controlling a population of 100,000,000 have joined the Indian Constituent Assembly. They have surrendered Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications to the Republic which in turn has pledged not to interfere with their feudal edifices. This is meant to be, and desired to be, the only psychological relief to the rulers, for every day the logical elaboration of this fusion becomes more and more evident.

Strong Center

On the contrary, all nation building talk is subordinated temporarily to a psychology of arming for a Strong Center. Both the Federal Constitution and the Provincial Constitution which are being shaped in the current session of the Indian Constituent Assembly, aim at an elected but strong Executive. Licenses for the possession of arms are being issued to civilians, more liberally and more justifiably than when the British had control. Police are being reorganized into armed constabulary, formations of armed Civic Guards are being officially sponsored, and general opinion is in favor of compulsory military training of youth.

No doubt, much of this is the natural result of the liquidation of imperial rule and is not uncommon in every major free country in the world, but this situation is not entirely divorced from the unhappy partition of India. These last few months have seen the situation approximate the dissolution of the Mogul Empire two centuries ago.

The British set June, 1948, as the deadline for pulling out of India, but the stream of unprecedented communal riots sweeping from East Bengal to the Northwest Frontier, involving whole communities, forced the British to act more speedily. The British Parliament passed an Indian Independence Bill hatching the two dominions of India and Pakistan. By the time this is published the British hope to be out and the new twins will begin their life.

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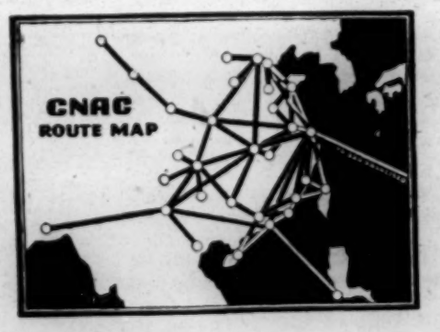

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WHAT TOJO'S CELLMATES ARE THINKING

(Ex-Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu)

DAVID CONDE

Tokyo.

FOR an entire year, six and a half hours a day and five days a week, ex-Prime Minister, General Hideki Tojo and his 25 co-defendants have sat in the prisoner's box in the War Ministry building in Tokyo, staring at the 11-man panel of International judges who will some day pass down judgment upon them.

Seldom during this time have the prisoners revealed their thoughts.

They have listened to millions of words of evidence, they have heard read treaties they helped to draft—and break. They have heard their own speeches made in pre-war days of splendor, read now without bombast, into the Court record. They have listened to the reading of the Japanese Constitution and also the minutes of the secret Privy Council meetings which charted Japan's course to war.

The gory details of the torture and murder of innumerable men, women and children have been testified to by witnesses from all over Asia. The story of American scrap-iron to Japan and the bombs on Pearl Harbor have been officially recounted.

Throughout the re-telling of Japan's modern history, Tojo and his fellow-prisoners have sat impassive, revealing nothing.

What do Japan's leading war criminals think of the crimes charged against them? Do they think they are getting a fair trial? With the days of sentence drawing near, do they think of their personal fate or of Japan's national honor?

Lawyer-War Criminal

The answer to part of these questions is to be found in the type of defense being stubbornly conducted by Dr. Ichiro Kiyose, senior Japanese defense counsel. Dr. Kiyose, himself, is a post-war, self-purged "war criminal" who resigned from the Diet where he had served 26 years as an advocate of Japan's pre-war and wartime legislation.

"Japan was driven into war in self-defense against the economic warfare conducted by the Anglo-American powers, they were the aggressors, Japan was the victim."

This, in essence, is the defense case, a defense of a nation's policies and not a defense of the individuals in the dock.

Unpublished letters and poems, written to friends during the course of the trial, by the most "westernized" prisoner, former Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu, reveal what he is thinking as he listens to the story of Japan's looting of half the world.

"NO ONE CAN TELL WHAT THE OUTCOME OF THE TRIAL WILL BE, SINCE THIS IS A ONE-SIDED MILITARY TRIBUNAL WITH A WARTIME ATMOSPHERE."

This is from a letter written by Shigemitsu, onetime Ambassador to London, Moscow and Nanking, and Foreign Minister in the Tojo, Koiso and post-war Higashikuni Cabinets. It was while Shigemitsu was Ambassador to war-wracked Britain, in the days of the "blitz", that he sent cables to Tokyo urging that Japan strike south at Singapore because of Britain's inability to defend her Empire.

Worked For Peace?

Shigemitsu's letter continues; "FOR THE PAST 30 YEARS I HAVE WORKED WITH ALL MY EFFORT FOR PEACE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS."

Evidence presented in the course of the trial, shows that Shigemitsu praised the Axis, saying Japan's war aims were identical with Germany's —the destruction of America and Britain and the establishment of a "New World Order". Also, it was shown that he ignored protests delivered to him as Foreign Minister, from Allied Governments and the International Red Cross, regarding the mistreatment, starvation and murder of Allied Prisoners of War.

"THE PROBLEM NOW", Shigemitsu confided to his friend, "IS MY POSITION HELD DURING THE WAR."

Yet, Shigemitsu is not greatly worried about his own fate; "SLEEPLESS THROUGH THE NIGHT, I WORRY MYSELF ABOUT THE AFFAIRS IN OUR NATION. I, A HUMBLE SERVANT OF THE STATE, PRAY TO GOD WITH ALL MY HEART, IN MIDSUMMER AMIDST THE ENEMY."

Who Shigemitsu prayed to is not clear, in the light of these additional lines addressed to the same friend: "EVEN THE TRIUMPHANT ENEMY CANNOT TOUCH OUR EMPEROR (Hirohito) WHO IS GOD HIMSELF". (In this, Shigemitsu is perhaps revealing the future nationalist line to explain the American retention of the Emperor.)

In a less poetic mood, the former Foreign Minister wrote from his Sugamo Prison cell; "I THANK HEAVEN THAT HIS MAJESTY IS NOT INVOLVED IN THE TRIAL".

Concern For Hirohito

Throughout this correspondence, Shigemitsu's concern is for the future of Japan, and particularly the preservation of Emperor Hirohito and the Emperor system.

Shigemitsu's intimate relationship with former Prime Minister, Prince Fumimaro Konoye, was recalled when the Prosecution introduced evidence in the War Crimes Trial, showing that in the autumn of 1944, a year before the war's end, Konoye told a Council of Elder Statesmen that it was better for Japan to be defeated than to have a revolution. In defeat, Konoye assured the senior statesmen, Japan could retain her Emperor, but should the Japanese people revolt against the war, that would mean the end of the Imperial family. (Prince Konoye committed suicide when his arrest was ordered by SCAP as a War Criminal suspect.)

It is a historical fact that Japan has never had a democratic revolution although it has had countless revolts. The MEIJI RESTORATION of 1867, when the Emperor was "restored" to power, was really a counter-revolution, financed largely by Mitsui and other great bankers, to prevent the people from achieving democracy.

Continuous Aggression

Japan's history since that time has been a continuous aggression in the name of the "restored" monarchy. China was attacked in 1894, 1914, 1931, 1932 and again in 1937. In 1938 the Soviet Union was attacked and in 1939 Outer Mongolia, all of these leading up to the great challenge at Pearl Harbor and Singapore in 1941.

It is frequently pointed out in Japan that those who zealously defend the Emperor today are really trying to protect Japan's past and future hopes of expansion, and that "Save The Emperor" is but a screen for the retention of the Zaibatsu moneyed families, who have profited so much from Japan's past aggressions.

It is an interesting historical fact that the clever and worldly-wise Shigemitsu, now on trial for his life as one of Japan's major war criminals, should be so indifferent to his own fate and so concerned for Emperor Hirohito.

In an exclusive interview with *Reuter's*, Dr. Chang Kia-ngau, Governor of the Central Bank of China, asserted that the Chinese Government has no intention of nationalizing gold or compelling the people to sell their bullion holdings to the Government at "open market" rates. Rumors to this effect in the past few days were described by him as "without basis." Dr. Chang also revealed that the authorities were working on problems connected with the short term U.S. Dollar Treasury Notes, the sale of which has been temporarily suspended.

Business Foot-Notes

A General Motors spokesman said recently that the giant corporation has scheduled shutdowns for lack of steel which may mean that 70,000 production workers will be laid-off for one week, *UP* said. Earlier, President C. E. Wilson announced that GM, the world's largest auto producer will close the Chevrolet and Pontiac plants in the U.S., the last week in August or the first week in September.

* * *

A *Reuter's* dispatch from London said that authoritative comment on sterling's change is that world trade may be interrupted. The major bridge between the two hemispheres is broken for the present. The whole "American account area," comprising the United States, Central America and the West Coast of South America is severed from sterling transferability. Many British Government decisions on reducing imports, expanding exports, cutting rations and slashing Britain's trade deficit is expectable shortly.

* * *

In a statement issued recently by Mr. Ling Chung, Shanghai Director of the China Liberated Areas Relief Association, a direct accusation that UNRRA was helping Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was launched. The statement claimed that since the issue of the general mobilization order UNRRA has gone from the "two percent policy of distribution of relief supplies to the 'Liberated Areas'" to a total submission to Gen. Chiang for the purpose of "rescuing Chiang's regime from a collapse."

* * *

It is reported that nine suspected traffickers and 10 victims of the new racket of trafficking in conscriptees have been uncovered. The traded conscriptees, ranging from the age of 14 to the maximum conscription age, were bought for CNC$3,000,000 and $4,000,000 each, according to confessions of would-be victims. The racket, according to investigations so far, is a well organized enterprise, involving a large number of gangsters and lawless elements, the *North-China Daily News* said.

* * *

The levy of property tax will be started in the near future in a few big cities of China, and the minimum taxable amount will be fixed at CNC$50,000,000,000. The *Sin Wan Pao* learned from reliable sources close to Executive Yuan.

* * *

From Bangkok *UP* reports that Siam's disapproval of the Chinese Government's pre-election representatives to overseas areas was recorded in both Government and public circles recently. The Siamese Government will formally protest should Chinese actions infringe on Siam's sovereignty or be contrary to international etiquette, it was reliably learned. A similar election was once held by German Nazis in Siam, but the vote was taken outside Siam's territorial waters.

* * *

During the month of May, Japan's imports continued to exceed the exports at the rate of two against one. In imports the U.S. accounted for 91 percent, Egypt five percent, China two percent, Korea 0.6 percent and Hongkong 0.1 percent. Foodstuffs ranked first with 47 percent, petroleum second with 15 percent, fertilizers third with 14 percent, machinery through the occupation forces placed fourth with 10 percent, salt accounted for seven percent while pig-iron, hemp, rubber and kaolin were also among major imports, *Reuter's* reports from New York.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF CHINA

PRESS NOTIFICATION No. 1

The attention of the Public is hereby drawn to the REVISED TEMPORARY REGULATIONS WITH REGARD TO FOREIGN EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS EFFECTIVE AS OF THIS DATE.

REVISED FOREIGN TRADE REGULATIONS WILL BE ISSUED TOMORROW.

I.—EXPORT IMPORT BOARD

The Board for the Temporary Regulation of Imports and the Board for the Development of the Export Trade have been merged into the EXPORT IMPORT BOARD.

(N.B. PENDING ORGANIZATION OF THE JOINT BOARD THE TWO BOARDS WILL CONTINUE TO FUNCTION SEPARATELY WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE ORGANIZATIONS. THEREFORE, PENDING FURTHER NOTIFICATION, COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO THEM AS HERETOFORE).

II.—IMPORTS & OUTWARD REMITTANCES

With effect immediately.

(a) The Appointed Banks will sell foreign exchange at the OFFICIAL RATE for the payment of licensed imports of COTTON, RICE, WHEAT & FLOUR, COAL & COKE, FERTILIZER.

(b) The Appointed Banks will sell foreign exchange at OPEN MARKET RATES for the payment of all other licensed imports and of all approved financial services, *whether licensed or approved before or after the issue of these regulations.*

III.—EXPORT AND REMITTANCES FROM ABROAD

The Appointed Banks will buy foreign exchange arising from Exports or Re-exports from China and from Remittances from abroad (inclusive of cheques and sales of exchange for expenditure in China) at OPEN MARKET RATES.

IV.—FINANCIAL SERVICES

There is no change in the existing regulations.

V.—EXPORT PROCEDURE

Exporters, after obtaining the signature of an Appointed Bank to Certificate CBC 8a (rev.) and prior to applying to the Customs for permission to export, shall submit the certificate to the Executive Secretary of the Export Import Board (subject however to Note in Para. I above) for verification of the value of the shipment together with such evidence as he may require in proof of the bona fides of the declared value. Committees for the valuation of exports will be appointed by the Board at Shanghai and other ports of shipment.

VI.—PURCHASE OF FOREIGN CURRENCY NOTES BY APPOINTED BANKS

There is no change in the existing regulations.

VII.—ISSUE OF IMPORT LICENSES 'NO EXCHANGE REQUIRED'

(in respect of funds held abroad prior to 17th February, 1947 for the purpose of defraying the cost of intended imports).

A committee will be appointed by the Export Import Board for the purpose of making a complete study and inventory of, and making recommendations to the Board in regard to

(a) past and prospective arrivals of goods in respect of which import licenses have not been granted.

(b) funds still said to be held abroad for the purpose of financing shipments.

with a view to enabling the Board to effect a final solution of this matter.

Until further notice no import license will be issued with the endorsement 'No Exchange Required.'

VIII.—TRADING IN FOREIGN CURRENCY SECURITIES

Attention is particularly drawn to Articles 23 and 38 of the Revised Temporary Regulations with regard to Foreign Exchange Transactions.

BROKERS WISHING TO OPERATE IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE SECURITIES SHALL REGISTER WITH THE CENTRAL BANK OF CHINA. Registration forms may be obtained on application to the Banking Department of Central Bank.

CHANG KIA-NGAU, Governor
CENTRAL BANK OF CHINA

Shanghai, August 18, 1947.

New Ruling Advantage Cut In Price Hike

SIX months following the revision of the foreign exchange rate from CNC$3,350 to CNC$12,000 to US$1 on February 16, 1947, China's foreign exchange rate was revised again on August 17, 1947 when the authorities, though retaining the old official rate of CNC$12,000, adopted an open market rate, which was fixed at CNC$39,000 on August 18 and CNC$38,500 on August 20.

This measure aims to encourage export trade, as exporters will receive CNC$39,000 for every American dollar they receive from their exports, instead of the official rate of CNC$12,000. In addition, this may eliminate the smuggling of native products to Hongkong and foreign countries. Another objective of this new rate is to attract overseas remittances through the government banks instead of through the black market. By this means the Government hopes that the overseas remittances received by the government banks will be able, as in the pre-war years, to cover about half of the unfavorable balance of China's foreign trade.

Also Aiding Imports

This market rate, which is fixed by the Foreign Exchange Stabilization Committee every day, may help the authorities to obtain more foreign exchange to finance imports to this country. The flexibility of the rate is also desirable under present conditions as the Government has found it difficult to supply fully foreign exchange granted under the seasonal quota.

Together with the adoption of the market rate, the new measures provided for the amalgamation of the Import Control Board and the Export Promotion Board. The unified organ will have the advantage of helping the adjustment of imports and exports.

The general reaction to these new measures must be said to be favorable with the exception of the general hike in the prices of export products. Prices of export products rose by 30 to 50 percent during the first few days of the week, as compared with the previous Saturday (August 16) and if this trend continues, there is the likelihood that the initial advantage gained by exporters will be negated.

Markets other than those of export products remained quiet and expectant, with the greenbacks and gold bar coming down slightly, following the reduction of the market rate to CNC$38,500 from CNC$39,000. The exporters of bristles, according to one report, had availed themselves of the new scheme to the extent of selling the appointed banks US$2,000,000 worth of exchange on August 21.

New Currency Rumors

The stock market was weak partially because of the rumor of a currency change with the support of the United States. With a bolstering of the currency, operators expected stocks to fall. Another rumor had it that the Government banks would discontinue the granting of loans, in an attempt to check a possible price spurt. Then there was the persistent rumor that a US$2,000,000,000 loan would be forthcoming soon.

The money market remained easy. The *Economic Critic* estimated that the daily issue of new fapi notes at the present time is CNC$25,000,000,000. The government banks continued to pay out more money through the Clearing House than they called in. During the week ending August 16, these banks called in a total of CNC$39,600,000,000, but paid out CNC$96,600,000,000, giving a net payment out of CNC$57,000,000,000.

Quotations Given

The following table gives the quotations of commodities during the past week:

	Week Ending Aug. 16 CNC$	Week Ending Aug. 23 CNC$
Bond C	12,800	14,400
Wing On Textiles	234	217
Mayar Silk ...	420	378
Ewo Cotton ...	90,000	84,500
Rice	400,000	415,000
Wheat flour ..	124,000	125,000
Peanut oil	935,000	990,000
20's Yarn	10,500,000	10,950,000
Raw Silk	29,000,000	29,500,000
Rayon	26,300,000	26,100,000
RQ cigarettes	110,000	124,200
Koo Ban Soap..	480,000	479,000
My Dear matches	3,050,000	3,170,000
Newsprint ...	290,000	295,000

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NEWS OF THE WEEK

Wedemeyer Mission Leaves; Aid Now Said Not Forthcoming

JUST as little was known about American aid to the Kuomintang after the statement released by the Wedemeyer Mission prior to its departure as throughout its stay and travel in China. General Wedemeyer's statement far from clarifying the situation was so much more vague than was General Marshall's statement when the latter left China early this year, that comment on the parting word was antipodal: some said the bubble of hope for American aid had burst, others thought aid would be forthcoming eventually. The former opinion was the more prevalent largely because no actual hope was extended by the parting special presidential envoy.

Nanking's reaction to Wedemeyer's statement was phlegmatic, it being said in official quarters that the general was very fair and impartial in his statement.

Just as General Marshall before him, General Wedemeyer thought it best to contain himself to vague phrases which appear in the daily press in great quantity. Thus, Wedemeyer admonished the Communists for their "employment of force in their efforts to impose ideologies," and equally castigated the Central Government for not removing the "incompetent and/or corrupt officials that now occupy many positions of responsibility in the Government...."

This act of blaming both sides, and placing the trust on the middle-roaders who do not exist on China's political scene today admittedly was the only course for Wedemeyer to adopt, before he made his report to the President.

There was varying reaction to Wedemeyer's parting word. The markets exhibited an upward trend. Various Government officials and spokesmen, as also "well-informed" sources, revealed that Wedemeyer's statement in fact meant that the United States now expected China to help herself. Others said the general had hinted that only drastic reforms in the Government would bring American aid to the Kuomintang.

* * *

REDS CHARGE IMPERIALISM

The Chinese Communists through their radio in North Shensi violently attacked the Wedemeyer Mission and American policy in China, charging that the United States had acquired a series of military bases in China and the island of Formosa to "fit an American program of expansion and aggression."

The Moscow *Pravda* declared that the Wedemeyer Mission represents one of the most graphic proofs of the groundlessness of counterpsing the Marshall Plan to the Truman Doctrine. "As is known the recent offensive against the democratic armies, launched by the Kuomintang with enormous military and economic assistance of the United States, failed disgracefully. The KMT leaders are not content with this and are preparing a new offensive pinning their hopes on still greater military and economic assistance of the United States."

* * *

JAPAN TRADE

THE Chinese Communists had previously failed to comment on the role of Japan and the resumption of trade with that country on August 15. In a *New China News Agency* release of August 18, the Reds declared that the reopening of Sino-Japanese trade "under the protecting wing and support of American imperialism and in cooperation with Chiang Kai-shek Japan is now again haughtily striding the road of economic aggression against China." The Communist radio said that SCAP was deliberately protecting Japanese industry by delaying the removal of reparations, and aiding the Japanese to increase their industrial output. The Communists further charged that the Cenrtal Government was silent on the question of Japanese resurgence because it desired to secure American aid in the Civil War.

* * *

POSTPONEMENT OF VOTE?

THERE was a growing demand for the postponement of the autumn elections to the National Assembly, and the General Labor Union organ, the *Lih Pao*, came out with a lengthy editorial giving its reasons why such a postponement was logical and suggested that the time was not ripe for elections the while Civil War was raging.

Despite official denials that the elections would be postponed, AP reported from Nanking that there is growing sentiment for delaying the ballotting because of "unsettled conditions."

A number of assemblymen are seeking to round up sufficient support to approve the postponement by petition. The Democratic League, through its leader Professor Lo Lung-chi, declared that it would ignore the elections.

At the same time it was said that the Government was fearful that a postponement of the elections would create an adverse effect on President Truman and his administration, particularly in view of the imminence of General Wedemeyer's report.

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What U.S. Papers Say . . .

THE likelihood of the Marshall Plan being extended to China was the subject of a *Christian Science Monitor* editorial during the week. Other U.S. papers commented on the current situation in Indonesia.

* * *

CHINA

The *Christian Science Monitor*, dignified Boston journal, said that the Chinese Government, on the basis of the Truman Doctrine, "has claimed that logic demanded the extension of American military and financial aid to the Chinese Nationalist cause." President Chiang has declared that unless the Communists are defeated China will perish.

"Yet Secretary Marshall stated flatly that the recent sale by the United States to China of small arms ammunition was not be to taken as an example of policy and did not indicate American support of the Nanking Government in the Civil War....To us (this) seems an indication that Secretary Marshall knows his China. Extension of aid to European countries which can use it to build sound economies is one thing. Extension of aid to a government unable to free itself from the debilitating hold of corrupt reactionaires is another. However sincere the intentions of President Chiang and some of the moderates in his government the present prospects for effective governmental reform in China are not encouraging."

The predictions of total victory over the Communists within a year convince no one who is familiar with the situation in China, the *Monitor* continued. Another strong argument for aid is the "Russian threat," which is certainly there, "though not so immediate in form as Nanking would have the United States believe. Up to the present Russia has shown little disposition to give the Chinese Communists active or direct aid, and recent charges to the contrary have not been substantiated by neutral observers." If Nationalist China faces collapse, it is as much from disintegration within as from Communist pressure from without."

Should the Marshall plan be adopted in Asia, identical terms to those applied in Europe, must be demanded by the U.S., among which are, "Intelligent self-help to match American aid. Economic well-being, political liberties and spiritual enlightenment are still the basic defenses against aggressive totalitarianism. When the Chinese Government shows an unmistakable determination and effort to build up these defenses, it should receive liberal American aid," advised the *Monitor* in conclusion.

* * *

INDONESIA

"THE best way to bring the fighting to a stop and then insure peaceful transition in the Indies from colonial status to that of self-government is for the United Nations to set up a commission either to arbitrate or to mediate the dispute," the *New York Times* declared in an editorial. "It is not only the duty of the United Nations, but an opportunity that should not be missed ....there are fewer fundamental issues to be resolved. The Dutch have promised the Indonesians what amounts to dominion status in a Dutch union. They have even set a date for it," the paper continued.

Without outside intervention, there is little possibility of the Dutch and Indonesians settling their dispute, was the opinion of the *Times*. Although the world is aware of the good intentions of the Dutch, "the Indonesians may not be so sure," after the events of the past few weeks. "An outside commission (is) called for, and not, we believe, a commission from one nation, but one representing all nations, named by the Security Council."

The *New York Herald Tribune* expressed concern over the possible loss of American prestige emanating from "the refusal of the Republic of Indonesia to accept the good offices of the United States in bringing peace to Java and Sumatra." The paper placed the blame for this on the lateness of the offer of U.S. mediation due to "the usual disagreements in the State Department between dominant specialists on Europe (who always know what is best for people who live in European possessions) and subordinate specialists on Asia."

The *Herald Tribune* declared that the offer was made "when the Indonesians were becoming fearful that the U.S. supported the Dutch position and when they saw more hope in arbitration, sponsored by the Security Council of the United Nations." The paper continued, stating that "the entire performance has been one that may increase suspicions of those Asiatics who contend that Americans only profess to be idealists and usually wind up supporting the white man against the brown and the conservatives against the liberals."

Three courses are open to the U.S., the most promising of which would be the support of a Security Council commission to Java and Sumatra "to supervise execution of the Council's cease fire order." The paper suggested that the U.S. "could also urge the Security Council and all nations with interests in the Pacific to bring pressure on the Dutch to accept arbitration to which the Indonesians have agreed."

In conclusion, the *Tribune* asks. "But what better course is there to follow? Is the slaughter in Indonesia to continue merely because arguments can be found against any serious effort that can be made to seek peace?"

Who's Who in China

DR. NY TSI-ZE, physicist and Director of Physics Institute; born at Tungyang, Chekiang, December 4, 1900; B.S., National Southeastern University, Nanking, 1923; Licencie es-Sciences Nethematiques,

Dr. Ny Tsi-ze

(嚴濟慈)

University of Paris, 1925; Docteur es-Sciences Physique, Paris, 1927; professor of Physics, Utopia University, Shanghai, until 1928; was elected research professor of Physics in Institute of Physics, Academia Sinica; returned to University of Paris in 1929 on a China Foundation Science Fellowship to do further research work with Professor Fabry and Cotton, 1929-31; joined National Academy of Peiping in 1931 as Director of its Institute of Physics, and concurrently Director of Institute of Radium; elected with F. Joliot (Nobel Prize winner) and Professor P. Kapitza of Cambridge University to membership of Council of French Physical Society in 1934; has served as honorary secretary of Chinese Physical Society and also honorary Managing Editor of Chinese Journal of Physics since 1933; was elected member of Executive Council of Chinese Science Society in 1936; delegate to Second General Conference of National Commission of International Intellectual Cooperation and 19th Plenary Session of the International Commission of International Co-operation held in Paris in July, 1937; awarded 3rd Class Star Medal from Central Government, 1945; visiting professor to U.S.A. under program of Culture Cooperation of State Department, 1945; author of papers published in different American and European Scientific Periodicals on Piezo-eletricity, Photography and Spectroscopy; General Physics, published by Chung Tseng Book Co.; address: c/o Institute of Physics, National Academy of Peiping, 42 Tung Hwang Chen Kun, Peiping.

A proposal which read: "No person shall be denied of enjoyment of any civil or military right, nor be discriminated against in any civil right, or segregated in the militia or public schools on account of religious principles, race, color, ancestry or national origin," was introduced by Oliver Randolph, the only Negro delegate to the New Jersey Constitutional Convention, and passed by a vote of 50 to 18, following a lengthy debate. Randolph told the convention that his amendment would make New Jersey a "torchbearer in the fight for justice, democracy and social progress," a *UP* dispatch reports.

What Chinese Papers Say

THE *Ta Kung Pao*, leading independent paper, devoted a lengthy editorial on the levying of farm tax in kind and the heavy burden such tax causes. The postponement of the General Elections was strongly advocated by the *Lih Pao*, and problems of the future Japanese Peace Conference were also commented upon.

* * *

TAX IN KIND

ACCORDING to the food administration authorities, the Government must collect 80,000,000 piculs of grain during the coming year. An additional farm tax in kind equivalent to 30 percent of the amount of foodstuffs will be collected by provincial and hsien governments for the use of Government employees. The probable total of foodstuffs handed over to the Government will amount to 80,950,000 piculs. The *Ta Kung Pao* expressed the view that, "First, the levy of farm tax in kind is not affected by the fluctuation of the value of currency. So far as the burden felt by the producers of agricultural produce is concerned, this is a 'real burden.' While the borrowing of foodstuffs by the Government is something like the floating of Government bonds, yet such borrowing is compulsory in nature and is effected along with the levy of farm tax in kind, no bonds being issued."

The paper pointed out that the levy of farm tax in kind and Government borrowing of foodstuffs mean that the taxpayer is, in point of fact, paying two years farm tax in one year. "The taxpayer will have to contribute to the local public grain stocks, to be subjected to special compulsory contributions of grain in the rural areas and to exploitation by the tax collectors, and to sustain various kinds of losses and pay various kinds of expenses in the process of handing over foodstuffs to the Government."

The most conservative estimate puts the total of all these items at 100 percent of the total of the regular farm tax in kind and compulsory lending of foodstuffs. Therefore, the real burden of the taxpayers will not be below 12 percent of the total amount of foodstuffs to be produced.

The *Ta Kung Pao*, considering the present tax system, felt that there is a lack of balance between the taxes of industry and commerce, on one hand, and agriculture, on the other, for the rates of taxation on the former are relatively low. The paper continued by declaring, "Besides meeting military requirements, the foodstuffs collected by the Government are also used to regulate the supply and demand of foodstuffs in the great cities. However, the entire burden falls on agriculture. This is very unequal treatment."

The two big defects in the present system of farm tax are the "unequal distribution of the burden among the different regions, and the unequal distribution of the tax burden among the farm taxpayers themselves. Although, theoretically, the larger taxpayers are supposed to pay heavier taxes, yet, as a matter of fact, the heavy burden still rests on the shoulders of medium-sized and small taxpayers," concluded the *Ta Kung Pao*.

* * *

GENERAL ELECTIONS

THE General Labor Union Organ, *Lih Pao*, was of the opinion that a nominal Constitution will not be of value to the country or the people, while the Nationalists are still trying to "quell the Communist rebellion" and while the masses continue to hover on the brink of starvation and death. The problems to be considered are, the *Lih Pao* insisted, "(1) Today, war is raging in almost the whole of North China and the Northeast, so how can elections be held in those areas? (2) What are the guiding principles for participation by the different political parties in the elections? Which are the lawful political parties? Which are the unlawful ones? What is the standard by which the Government can distinguish one kind of politicial party from the other?

"(3) In certain provinces behind the lines, like Kiangsu, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Szechuen, Hupeh and Anhwei there are floods of serious proportions, with the result that large numbers of people have been rendered homeless. Can the general election work be carried on in those provinces? (4) Local administration is corrupt and the vast majority of the people are illiterate, so it is certainly problematical whether the wishes of the people can be made known in the elections."

Following this string of highly significant questions, the paper then emphasized that "Enforcement of the Constitution is an event of great national importance, and so we must not go about it with negligence... We feel that enforcement of the Constitution should enable the country to enjoy a long period of peace and stability and must not increase the chaos in China."

* * *

JAPAN

The *Ta Kung Pao* voiced the possibility of Russia not attending the preliminary conference on the Japanese peace treaty because of the lack of agreement between the United States and Britain are continuing nations to be represented at that conference. But as the United States and Britain are continuing their preparations for the conference the paper stated a few problems regarding China's position.

"(1) It would not be a desirable thing to leave out Soviet Russia for ....if the anti-aggression declaration still maintains its binding force, then no peace treaty should be concluded with Japan, the common enemy, without the participation of Russia.

"China should oppose conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan without the participation of Soviet Russia. This kind of peace treaty would have three great disadvantages: (a) Taking advantage of the differences among the Allied nations, Japan could sow seeds of discord among them. (b) Without the participation of Soviet Russia, peace and order could not be completely established in the Far East. (c) China and Soviet Russia have a common boundary which is 10,000 li long and China and Japan are bound to keep in close contact with each other. It would be very hard for the three nations to get along well.

"(2) It is reported that in reply to Washington's proposal China has made a counter-proposal that if the two-third's majority vote system is adopted this majority should include agreement among three of the Big Four. We do not know whether the United States has accepted this counter-proposal or not, but we are afraid that this counter-proposal was not carefully considered by China before it was made. It was quite clear that there could be no compromise regarding the question of the veto power. For instance, with regard to the reparations problem, while the United States, Soviet Russia and Great Britain could agree to the proportion demanded by China, the smaller nations would undoubtedly be very particular about this matter. All that could be needed in order to sabotage China's demand would be for four small nations to unite in opposing it.

"If the United States favored our proposal, and if Soviet Russia were left out, then the so-called three-fourth's majority would be changed in to a two-third's majority, which would mean that China would completely give up the veto power. Thus we would be left without any defensive weapon at all.

"(3) As regards the peace treaty, we do not know what the contents of the draft peace treaty drawn up by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs are. We should like to make two proposals: (a) The organization for examining the draft peace treaty must not be simply a nominal one. (b) What is even more important is that we should decide upon a firm and immutable foreign policy based on a spirit of independence and designed to serve the cause of the country and the people as a whole and to make a long range plan. Our expectations of our foreign policy are that it will be an honorable and independent one and that it will work loyally for the welfare of the country instead of merely facilitating the work of the Government. It should not emphasize immediate advantages, but must be farsighted, so that for the sake of the security and prosperity of the nation, it will win the 'peace' permanently," the *Ta Kung Pao* concluded.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

In Danger

A FREE AND RESPONSIBLE PRESS, *A General Report On Mass Communication: Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books by The Commission On Freedom Of The Press. Published by the Univerity of Chicago Press, Chicago,* 1947. 139 *pp.* US$2.00. *Reviewed by M. B.*

THE free American press is commonly held as a model for the rest of the world, and American public opinion, which takes its freedom of speech and of the press for granted, is revolted when evidences of its abridgment are reported from other parts of the world. To find so distinguished a group as Dr. Hutchins' Commission on Freedom of the Press conclude that freedom of the press *is* in danger in America, therefore, is a phenomenon worthy of attention. Certainly, the report was greeted with mixed emotion by press circles in the States.

The Commission concludes that freedom of the press — and its use of the term embraces radio, newspapers, motion pictures, magazines, and books—is in danger not from government control but from failure on the part of the press itself to live up to its responsibilities. While the Commission affirms its faith in the press as a system of private enterprise, it defines it as a "private business affected with a public interest," and proceeds on that assumption. The report, therefore, is concerned less with freedom or lack of freedom, as such, than with what it terms "accountable freedom"—whether or not the press is meeting its obligations and realizing its capabilities as a purveyor of information.

In its excellent summation of the principles of press freedom, the Commission points out that freedom of the press is always in danger, since the "desire to suppress opinion different from one's own is inveterate and probably ineradicable." The immediate problem, therefore, according to the Commission, arises from the "communications revolution" and the growing role of the press as a big business, both of which have tended to render inadequate our time-honored press freedom guarantees, as incorporated in the First Amendment. In the words of the report, "Protection against the government is now not enough to guarantee that a man who has something to say shall have a chance to say it."

In support of its thesis, the Commission offers the following facts: The Twentieth Century has brought such developments in communication as the radio telegraph, frequency modulation, television, and facsimile reproduction, all of which promise a tremendous increase in the amount and variety of information channels. But the increased complexity of modern-day communications tends to concentrate ownership in fewer hands and to present innumerably greater difficulties in the way of newcomers to the field than was the case when a man with a hand printer could start his own newspaper.

From 2,600 daily newspapers in 1909, there are now only 1,750. Only one out of every 12 cities in the United States now has competing dailies. Two hundred book publishers provide 90 percent of the books. The four major radio networks have 800 of the nation's 1,000 stations affiliated with them. Eight major motion picture companies produce 80 percent and distribute 95 percent of the films. Local and regional newspaper chains, together with the Hearst, Scripps-Howard and McCormick-Patterson interests, control more than half of the total newspaper circulation. Joint newspaper-radio ownership is increasing, and about one third of the radio stations are controled by newspapers. Press associations and syndicated services tend to standardize news stories, photograpphs, cartoons and columns in newspapers throughout the country.

These facts, the Commission is careful to point out, while they indicate the presence of monopolistic practices, do not mean monopoly in any one field. Hearst at his peak had 26 papers, 13 magazines, eight radio stations, a newsreel company, a leading feature syndicate and one out of three press associations for an estimated 30,000,000 readers. But in each field he had healthy competition.

In scrutinizing the performance of the press, the Commission finds that it reaches as high a percentage of the population as that of any other country, that its technical equipment is the best in the world, that it is "less venal and less subservient to political and economic pressure than that of many other countries," and that in general it has "achieved a standard of excellence unsurpassed anywhere in the world." However, due in part to the desire to "please and extend its audience," it is preoccupied with "headline news" to the extent that it overlooks less sensational events of real social significance. It is too often influenced by the bias of owners who have a big business outlook and "denies adequate expression to important elements in communities." The result, says the Commission, "is meaningless, flatness, distortion, and the perpetuation of misunderstanding among widely scattered groups whose only contact is through this media."

The present means of self-regulation within the press has a limited purpose. Existent codes, organizations, and disciplinary practices have not provided the necessary professional ideals and practices. The code of the Motion Picture Association of America, adopted and enforced to avoid state censorship and group boycott, is concerned primarily with moral issues. On the air, "the really effective radio code is the regulation of content by advertisers." The American Newspaper Publishers Association, the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the American Newspaper Guild are all more concerned with business problems, working conditions, etcetera, than with "questions affecting the role of a free press in a free society."

The report concludes with a series of recommendations to the government, the press and the public. The government is advised to extend constitutional guarantees of press freedom to radio and motion pictures in order to give them greater freedom from pressure groups; to facilitate new ventures in the communications industry, foster the introduction of new techniques, maintain competition, but when concentration is necessary see that the public benefits; to amend libel legislation in order to lessen falsifications and deliberate misstatements of fact; to repeal legislation "prohibiting expressions in favor of revolutionary changes when there is no clear and present danger that violence will result from the expressions;" and to inform the public on its policies and purposes if this is done inadequately by private sources.

The press is urged to "assume the responsibility of providing the variety, quantity and quality of information and discussion which the country needs" by recognizing its responsibility as a common carrier of information and discussion; financing new experimental activities, engaging in mutual criticism, and increasing the competence, independence and effectiveness of its staff.

Finally, in its appeal to the public, the Commission suggests that non-profit institutions assume a larger responsibility in providing the diversity of information and discussion required; that academic-professional centers of advanced study, research and publication in the field of communications be created; and that a new and independent agency to appraise and report annually on press performance be established.

If the last mentioned suggestion would assure the regular appearance of reports approaching the level of the one under review, it would constitute a significant contribution toward raising the standards of the American press.

The Commission has condensed its findings into a little more than 100 pages of clear, lucid prose, every line of it, as Mr. Hutchins testifies, "hammered out in conference and correspondence" until it represented the unanimous conviction of the Commission's distinguished members: Zechariah Chafee, Jr., professor of law at Harvard University; John M. Clark, professor of economics at Columbia University; John Dickinson, professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania; William E. Hocking, professor of philosophy, emeritus, at Harvard University; Harold D. Lasswell, professor of law at Yale University; Archibald MacLeish, formerly Assistant Secretary of State; Charles E. Merriam, professor of political science, emeritus, at the University of Chicago; Reinhold Neibuhr, professor of ethics and philosophy of religion at the Union Theological Seminary; Robert Redfield, professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago; Beardsley Ruml, chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York; Arthur M. Schlesinger, professor of history at Harvard University; and George N. Schuster, president of Hunter College.

The work was financed under a grant of funds made by Time, Inc., and the Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. in addition to this report, the Commission has sponsored a separate series of more detailed reports on special phases of the mass communications industry.

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NANKING-SHANGHAI LINE
TIME TABLE

72	4	76	6	8	78	2	10	12	16	TRAIN NO.	1	5	15	7	71	3	9	11	75	77
"Tai Hu" Express	I, II Triumph Exp.	II, III Local	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	II, III Local Exp.	I, II Nanking Throu. Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	STATIONS	I, II Hangchow Throu. Exp.	I, II III Exp.	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	"Tai Hu" Express	I, II Triumph Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	II, III Local	II, III Local Exp.
8.30	7.00	7.30	9.00	11.00	12.15	13.30	21.50	23.00	23.30	D SHANGHAI NORTH A	14.45	16.25	18.25	19.35	22.20	22.45	6.35	8.00	10.25	17.10
		8.55	10.16	12.14	13.48		23.27		0.56	D KUNSHAN D		15.24	17.09	18.22			5.28		8.34	16.05
10.13	8.41	9.42	10.57	12.57	14.29	15.17	0.20	1.06	1.43	A SOOCHOW D	13.06	14.33	16.23	17.36	20.31	21.06	4.39	5.39	7.10	15.19
10.18	8.48	9.49	11.08	13.04	14.36	15.26	0.27	1.13	1.55	D SOOCHOW A	12.59	14.19	16.17	17.23		20.58	4.32	5.19	7.04	15.09
11.10	9.36	10.45	11.57	13.55	15.35	16.14	1.22	2.08	2.50	A WUSIH D	12.11	13.24	15.14	16.29	19.35	20.10	3.39	4.26	6.00	14.10
	9.42		12.06	14.02		16.23	1.29	2.15	3.00	D WUSIH A	12.04	13.18	15.08	16.21		20.03	3.33	4.19		
	10.31		12.59	15.03		17.09	2.27	3.13	4.05	A CHANGCHOW D	11.17	12.22	14.05	15.20		19.16	2.35	3.30		
	10.40		13.08	15.15		17.19	2.37	3.25	4.13	D CHANGCHOW A	11.06	12.09	13.55	15.08		19.06	2.24	3.20		
	11.38		14.00	16.13			3.56	4.29	5.16	A TANYANG D		11.09	12.41	14.05		18.12	1.07	2.03		
	11.41		14.03	16.17			4.00	4.33	5.20	D TANYANG A		11.05	12.37	13.55		18.03	1.02	2.00		
	12.18		14.40	17.01		18.46	4.46	5.18	6.02	A CHINKIANG D	9.32	10.28	11.44	13.07		17.23	0.09	1.07		
	12.25		14.45	17.17		18.53	4.55	5.27	6.09	D WEST A	9.24	10.21	11.38	12.59		17.15	23.56	1.00		
	13.55		16.10	18.50		20.20	6.30	7.15	7.50	A NANKING D	8.00	9.00	10.00	11.00		15.45	22.00	23.00		

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"Tai Hu" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
KUNSHAN	52	16,000.	24,000.	8,000.	12,000.	4,000.	6,000.			
SOOCHOW	87	24,000.	32,000.	12,000.	16,000.	6,000.	8,000.	78,000.	46,000.	78,000.
WUSIH	129	40,000.	48,000.	20,000.	24,000.	10,000.	12,000.	78,000.	46,000.	86,000.
CHANGCHOW	168	48,000.	64,000.	24,000.	32,000.	12,000.	16,000.	78,000.	46,000.	
TANYANG	213	64,000.	80,000.	32,000.	40,000.	16,000.	20,000.	96,000.	56,000.	
CHINKIANG WEST	243	72,000.	88,000.	36,000.	44,000.	18,000.	22,000.	106,000.	62,000.	
NANKING	312	72,000.	88,000.	36,000.	44,000.	18,000.	22,000.	106,000.	62,000.	

SHANGHAI-HANGCHOW LINE
TIME TABLE

23	21	61	67	25	1	41	27	TRAIN NO.	24	42	2	68	26	22	62	28
I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III Ord.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	I, II H'chow Throu. Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II III Exp.	STATIONS	I, II III Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II N'king Throu. Exp.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III IV Ord.	I, II III Exp.
6.45	8.00	8.15		11.30	16.00	16.15	22.45	D SHANGHAI NORTH A	9.15	12.15	12.35		18.55	20.05	22.30	23.30
7.05	8.16	8.36	9.00	11.53	16.19	16.36	23.06	D SHANGHAI WEST D	8.58	11.55	12.20	17.20	18.37	19.49	22.13	23.12
7.49		9.46	10.29	12.38	17.03	17.46	23.50	A SUNGKIANG D	7.51	10.44	11.26	15.29	17.48		21.00	22.16
7.54		9.56	10.40	12.43	17.08	17.51	23.55	D SUNGKIANG A	7.47	10.38	11.21	15.23	17.39		20.54	22.11
9.02	10.02	11.40	12.50	13.50	18.16	19.23	1.06	A KASHING D	6.35	9.04	10.13	13.10	16.20	17.54	19.25	21.00
9.16	10.08	11.50	13.15	13.58	18.26	19.33	1.16	D KASHING A	6.28	8.55	10.04	12.45	16.11	17.47	19.12	20.50
10.00		12.33	14.52	14.32	19.01	20.16	1.50	D YEHZAH D	5.56	8.14	9.31	11.53	15.39		18.29	20.18
10.31		13.18	15.56	15.04	19.32	21.01	2.21	A CHANGAN- D	5.23	7.27	8.58	10.40	15.06		17.42	19.34
10.36		13.26	16.10	15.11	19.37	21.06	2.26	D TSENG A	5.19	7.22	8.54	10.27	15.02		17.37	19.27
11.30	11.55	14.45	18.10	16.20	20.30	22.20	3.25	A HANGCHOW D	4.25	6.10	8.00	8.30	14.00	16.00	16.25	18.25

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"West Lake" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
SUNGKIANG	45	16,000.	24,000.	8,000.	12,000.	4,000.	6,000.	78,000.	46,000.	
KASHING	99	32,000.	40,000.	16,000.	20,000.	8,000.	10,000.	78,000.	46,000.	78,000.
YEHZAH	126	40,000.	48,000.	20,000.	24,000.	10,000.	12,000.	78,000.	46,000.	
CHANGANTSENG	151	48,000.	64,000.	24,000.	32,000.	12,000.	16,000.	78,000.	46,000.	
HANGCHOW	190	48,000.	64,000.	24,000.	32,000.	12,000.	16,000.	78,000.	46,000.	86,000.

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